



**"SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIMS IN
INDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF MANSOORIES
IN DISTRICT BIJNOR, U.P."**

**THESIS
ABSTRACT**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy
IN
SOCIOLOGY

BY

ISRAR AHMAD

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
Prof. M. Jamal Siddiqui

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)
2005

ABSTRACT

The present study of Mansoori community among Muslims is a modest attempt to find out the socio-historical background of Mansooris which remained largely unexplored. This is also tries to explain the social and economic position of Mansooris in Bijnor district in the light of recent developments.

Indian Muslims are a large and diverse group containing within it both social and religious diversities and economic fragmentation. Although Muslims are united by a common faith they are quite obviously divided into several ethnic groups. They are also divided in terms of sects and economic classes. Muslim population can be divided on the basis of nature and organization of economic activities into two main groups. One is associated with agriculture representing the farmers, peasants and landless labourers and others are the artisans and specific occupational communities. Mansooris belong to the both categories. Mansoori community is placed at a specific location in the mode of production in the social organization of Indian society that becomes the significant aspects for the argument and discussion of the present study.

As an occupational community, the members of Mansoori community are known by different names in different parts of the country. They known as Dhuney, Dhunia, Bahna, Pinjara/penja, Naddaf, Panchu kotti, Dudekula etc but on the basis of occupation, they are associated with a traditional occupation of cotton-cleaning, cardening particularly prepared the quilts, mattresses, pillows and warm cloths during winter season. Besides, they are also as peasants, labourers and in other economic activities.

Entire study is spread over seven chapters beginning with an introduction of the problem and concluding with major findings and suggestions. Between these two ends, there are chapters on methodology; research design and sampling followed by collection of primary data and its analysis and interpretation. Sociologists and social anthropologists have made commendable efforts to examine and understanding the social structure of Indian Muslims over the last few decades. Their main attraction was to highlight the caste like features among Muslims which are described in chapter 1.2 under heading of review of literature. However, the little work has been undertaken on the socio-economic structure of Indian Muslims particularly occupational communities in the directions of their development and social change.

This is the study of an occupation^l/community which is still largely unexplored sociologically. To conduct the study, some objectives are set out to examine and explain in the course of the research in chapter 1.3 of framework of the study. These included as: The first objective of this research is to explore the socio-historical heritage of the community. Second objective of the study is to examine and explain intra-community and inter-community interactional patterns. Third objective is to locate and explain the social and economic status of Mansoori community in Indian society especially among Muslims in general and the district of Binjor in particular. The fourth objective is to analyse the religious and ritual practices prevalent among Mansooris and to relate it with those of great tradition of Islam. The fifth objective of the study is to assess and examine the occupational and economic position of Mansooris. The sixth objective is to find out the nature of occupational mobility among

Mansooris and its impact on social behaviour, social institutions and social rankings. The last objective of the present study is to examine the existing level of education particularly ^{of} female members of the community and to relate with the nature of gender relationship in Mansoori community.

In this way, to examine and verify these objectives, some hypothetical statements have been made in the introductory chapter, which constitutes the core point to be tested and evaluated in this study. Chapter 2 deals with description of field in which the study is conducted. This constitutes the historical, geo-economic and socio-demographic description of the district in which Mansooris reside.

According to 1991 census the population of district is 2409884. The population of the district constitute of different religious groups. It is divided into different castes and communities. Muslim population of district is constituted about 45 percent of total population. It is also divided into different beradaris broadly classified into two categories of ashraf and ajlaf. The ashraf category considers its non-Indian origin while ajlaf are considered as comprising of different artisans and occupational communities from India or converted from lower castes of the Hindu society. Mansoori is one of them which is an occupational community placed at lower position even in ajlaf category among Muslims society.

Chapter 3 deals the methodology of the study. Methodologically, present study is conducted on the basis of exploratory and descriptive research design. As this is an exploratory study, researcher preferred to employ the case study method. The method is generally used for describing characteristics of whole unit with the help of some representative cases. Few cases have also

been done with a view of describing qualitative aspects of social life which is otherwise difficult to explain statistically. As a community study, the focus is on exploring the socio-historical background of Mansoori community and describes it scientifically. All available historical documents as well as oral history of the community are being used for tracing socio-historical profile of Mansooris. Besides seeking information from the respondents (mostly old people), observation technique as basic tool of the study is employed. To administer a structured interview schedule comprising of important questions on different aspects of the community, a sample of 255 respondents has been drawn through stratified random sampling. Thus, a form of structured interview through already drawn questions is administered in face to face situation with the selected respondents. Main focus of the questions have been on family, biradari, marriage, dowry, divorce, education, religiosity and ritual practices, economy and polity of Mansoori community. In this way, the study is based on the data collected through participant observations and the respondents. Besides, it contains the data gathered from historical official records of Municipal Boards of the district.

In chapter 4, socio-historical profile of Mansoori community is explained. There is a common thinking among both the scholars and academicians that Mansooris were non-muslims before the Muslims rule in India. They embraced Islam from Hinduism. As an occupational community, Mansooris are associated with their traditional occupation. They are known by different names in different regions of the country. It is a fact that members of Mansoori community constitute a large group among Muslim society. Different tribes or groups with varying origins, customs, religions and caste status came

under the single term of Mansoori. The word Mansoori has been adopted from a Sufi Saint Khawja-Mansoori-al-Hallaj. He was an Arabic speaking mystic theologian and the grand son of a Gabr as descendant of Abu Ayyub, the companion of Prophet Mohammad. Crooks says that along with Muslim invaders, Mansoor al-Hallaj came to India and lived with the people of Dhuneyas (cotton-carders), who belong to Sunni sect of Islam. Though, the members of the community follow the Islamic principles, most of the customs, rituals practices and traditions among them are performed on the pattern of Hindu rituals of lower castes of social hierarchy.

The members of this community are divided into sub-groups which are identifiable in terms of their names, locations and social practices. District wise distribution of the population of Mansoori community in Uttar Pradesh in 1891 show that they are found in every district of the state. However, there is no mention of Rampur district. In Meerut and Ruhilkhand divisions of Uttar Pradesh particularly in the district of Bijnor and its neighbouring areas, they are known by the name of Dhuney and Naddaf. There is division of them in the district into two groups mainly Deshwale and Pachade, but associated with common occupation of cotton-clearing. Slowly and gradually they transformed themselves into larger group which we called biradari.

The chapter 5 deals with the analysis and interpretation of social practices and institutions of Mansoori community such as biradari, family, marriage, divorce, dowry, education, religious and ritual practices, polity and economy of the community.

Biradari is an expression of an internalized sense of solidarity which is shared by its members. It is also used in local term to indicate an endogamous

group having a traditional occupational background. Biradaris in the district of Bijnor are hierarchically ranked by the residents according to a religiously uniform value system. Mansooris as a biradari among Muslims of district Bijnor claim their social status equal to that of ashraf categories. Regarding the community position and rank in the larger Muslim society of the region, Mansooris by and large claim themselves below Syed, Sheikhs and Khan but equal to Ansaris and Qureshis in the local hierarchy. There is also a trend of higher claim in the biradari that community is superior to the Ansari and Qureshi biradaris of Bijnor.

Economic changes bring about the drastic changes in many of social practices and institutions. Such changes have also taken place in the structure of joint family among Mansooris. From the point of social organization, majority of members still live in joint/extended family while the nuclear family is found only among 43 percent of respondents. The family structure is becoming nuclear with the passage of time. This study of family structure relates with Gujrat's finding of A.M. Shah in which members of joint family share certain characteristic features of joint or complex household but simultaneously some of the significant aspects of nuclear family like independent kitchen and taking direct responsibility of their spouses and children.

Marriage is considered essential aspect of every caste and community. Mansooris are an endogamous community who marry their children within the biradari. Contrary to Hindu form of endogamy, there are certain preferential areas in the kinship category for marriage. Also within the biradari there is no exogamous sub-groups as in case of Hindu endogamy. They believe in further

cementing kin ties through marital alliances. Thus, they prefer to marry within the relatives and kinship categories, with an exception of not accepting marriage alliance with the father's sister's daughter (FSD). It is also observed that they do not give women to those families from where they have received brides. Therefore, a symmetrical relation exists between the families of women given and those of women received.

Regarding the form of marriage monogamy is more obvious form which is prevalent among Mansooris of Bijnor. They practice little and great tradition both on the occasion of marriage but the fact remains that entire ceremony is coloured by the elements of little tradition. Some new and extra non-Islamic customs and traditions are now being performed.

Marriage alliances in artisan communities and different Muslims biradris are mostly performed within the biradari. Empirical finding indicates that only very few percent respondents prefer to marry outside biradari. Therefore it is found that the traditional bond of biradari is still strong.

New economic classes have emerged among Mansooris due to the process of economic changes which have taken place among them. This trend of development has influenced the choices and selection of marriage partners within the community. Earlier such choices and selections were mostly confined within the relatives and kin groups or among those families of villages and towns with whom earlier marital alliances existed. Now there is a visible trend of shifting choice from the relatives or kin groups to those families which belong to their class or to the families of high income groups within the community. This indicates that there is a sort of class feeling among Mansooris due to economic change and educational development.

In the present study, it is found that instances of divorce are very few. Though, it is allowed in Islam but considered most atrocious act in the society. In terms of the factors responsible for divorce are economic problems in the family and psychological maladjustment. Polygamy is also considered as an important factor for divorce. Dowry is a key element in marriage transaction not only among the Hindus but also among Muslims. It is practiced at a very modest level. Dowry among Mansoori community is given and taken as a regular practice in the marriage. It is a multifactor problem which reflects the patriarchal social order and low social status of women in the society. Due to the status consideration, display of wealth and growing consumerism, Mansooris of today spend more and more money on the marriage ceremonies and given lucrative dowry. Thus, it is a fact that the marriage becomes more expensive. Though it is prohibited by law, instances of dowry are at increase.

Modern education has influenced the social position of biradari but in a limited way. Since majority of respondents in the study are illiterate. Having established the economic prosperity of Mansooris let us now examine the educational pattern among them. Economic changes have led community to acquired modern higher education. The trend of being educated has increased among Mansooris. Though the majority of the respondents do not prefer modern education of higher level, they have given the value of modern education. They are still less inclined towards improving their educational status. Their opinion regarding children's education is not much higher. They consider that the investment on higher education generally goes waste and they (children) do not get job opportunities in government services and selection in competitive examination due to the high level of discrimination. Due to certain

incentives for female education and their better prospects in marriage market after getting higher education, it is found that female education in the community is encouraged.

Rituals and religiosity is considered an important aspect of an occupational community as a mark of its identity. In case of Mansooris though Quran is accepted as the basic source of knowledge and understanding, the operational part of society gets deeply influenced by socio-historical and economic condition of society. Mansooris over a period of time have also developed their own pattern of ritual practices at different points of life cycle. The process of Islamization appeared to have started among them with the passage of time. Empirical data reveals that the differences in religious faith and rituals among Mansooris are created due to the social compulsion and the teaching of Ullemas. The community is divided into Deobandi and Bareilvi. However, Deobandis are in majority. It is also observed that there is an emerging trend among the Mansooris to associate explicitly with the great tradition of Islam. At cultural level the Islamic practice of pardah, dressing pattern and linguistic expression are at increase. A sociological implication of such development is the break down in traditional bonds between Hindus and Muslims as communities.

The sixth chapter deals with economic diversification of occupations among Mansooris. They are associated with their traditional work of cotton-cleaning, carderning particularly prepare the winter clothes like quiltes, mattresses, pillows etc. The diversification of Indian economy in post independent Indian society led to the process of occupational change and mobility among occupational communities due to urbanization,

industrialization, transportation and communication facilities. Being an occupational community, Mansooris find to seize any and every opportunity which is available in the areas of Bijnor district. They have diversified and modernized their occupations. As a result, Mansoorishave entered into different economic activities. Thus, it is observed that Mansooris are found in every occupation except sweeping and scavenging.

Any piece of sociological research is supposed to contribute in some sense to addition in the existing volume of the knowledge. Being an exploratory and ethnographic study of the community, it would be relevant; first the study may provide us some insights to better understand the existing framework of the social relationships and dynamics of change. We know that in Indian agrarian rural society different occupational groups and communities live in a holistic manners and a system of interdependent. The forces of urbanization, modern education, democratic decentralization and the panchayati raj have introduced tremendous influences in the rural agrarian society and economy. This study as a response to all such developments breakdown of the traditional social structure and interplay of forces within and without community will constitute the significant focus of attention in this study. The second aspect of importance relates policy implementation to meet the objectives of welfare state that central and state governments come with different policies and development programmes. Mansooris as argued earlier are educationally and economically backward community among Muslims. Hence, they share in governmental interventions through development programmes and schemes. This study brings out some useful inferences which

may be important in the programme implement, some policy decision making and public administration.

Thus, this community study observes that Mansooris as an endogamous and occupational community in Bijnor are confronting with historical forces of social change. Diversifications of economic activities, advancement of modern education particularly among women, democratic decentralization of polity and advanced means of transportation and communication have influenced the internal dynamics of the community. This study has identified the changes in family and kinship organization, mate-selection and marriage practices, social values and attitude and infers that the community is passing from tradition – ~~transition~~ modernity pattern. In spite of the fact that socio-cultural practices of the community have a very close relationship with the endogamous conditions of larger Hindu societies social practices, yet acceptance and absorption of Islamic elements of great tradition can also be very obviously seen and observed in different life situations of the members of the community. The two processes of westernization – modernization and Islamization of cultural and value structure are in a comfortable adjustment with each other or they are the indicators of paradox is the question to be answered by further researches in Mansoori community.



17 FEB 2011



T6979





**"SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIMS IN
INDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF MANSOORIES
IN DISTRICT BIJNOR, U.P."**

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy
IN
SOCIOLOGY

BY

ISRAR AHMAD

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
Prof. M. Jamal Siddiqui

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)

2005

Phone : (0571) 700922/923/926/937
Extension 350 and 351

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND SOCIAL WORK**
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH — 202 002

Dr. M. Jamal Siddiqui

Professor

Ph.: 0091-571-2702128 (R)
0091-571-2707077 (O)



D. No.....

Dated

Certificate

This is to certify that **Mr. Israr Ahmad** has completed his doctoral thesis entitled “**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF MANSOORIES IN DISTRICT BIJNOR, U.P.**” under my supervision. I understand that the work is suitable for submission for consideration for the award of **Ph.D. degree** in Sociology.


(Prof. M. Jamal Siddiqui)

Dedicated
to
My Beloved Parents,
Grand Parents,
Brothers & Sisters

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Certificate	
Acknowledgement	i-ii
CHAPTER 1 : FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY	1-27
1.1 Introduction	1-4
1.2 Review of Literature	5-11
1.3 Objectives of the Study	11-13
1.4 Hypothesis of the Study	13-16
1.5 Theoretical Orientation	16-21
1.6 Significance of the Study	21-23
Notes and References	24-27
CHAPTER 2 : DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD:	
DISTRICT OF BIJNOR	28-50
2.1 Location	28
2.2 Historical Background	29-34
2.3 Geography and Economy	34-39
(i) Physical Features	34-36
(ii) Economy	36-39
(a) Agriculture	36-37
(b) Industry	37-39
2.4 Demographic Distribution	39-42
2.5 Biradaris	42-46
Notes and References	47-50
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	51-66
3.1 Research Design	53-55
3.2 Case Study Method	55-56
3.3 Techniques of Data Collection	56-63
(i) Participant Observation	56-59
(ii) Interview Schedule	59-60
(iii) Universe and Sample Selection	60-63

3.4 Problems faced in the Field	63-65
Notes and References	66
CHAPTER 4: MANSOORI COMMUNITY: A PROFILE	67-94
4.1 Demographic Distribution	67-75
4.2 Socio-Cultural Background	75-85
4.3 Description of Occupation	86-89
Notes and References	90-94
CHAPTER 5: MANSOORIS: A BIRADARI AND ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS	95-150
5.1 Biradari and Political Dimension	95-105
5.2 Family Dimension	106-108
5.3 Marriage, Divorce and Dowry	108-131
5.4 Education	131-141
5.5 Religiosity and Rituals	141-148
Notes and References	149-150
CHAPTER 6: ECONOMY AND OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	151-165
(i) Jajmani Relations	154-156
(ii) Cottage Industry	156
(iii) Village Economy	156
(iv) Inter Dependence	157
Economic/Occupational Diversification & Mobility	157-165
Notes and References	
CHAPTER 7 : CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS	166-181
Bibliography	182-202
Appendix	i-iv

LIST OF TABLES

	Page No.
2.1 Growth Rate of Population of Bijnor District from 1901 to 1991	39-40
2.2 Literacy Percentage in Bijnor District According to 1991 Census	41
2.3 Biradariwise Distribution of Muslims Population in Bijnor District According to 1901 Census	43-44
3.1 Size of Sample Drawn	62
4.1 Districtwise Distribution of Dhuneys (Mansooris) Community in Uttar Pradesh According to 1891 Census.	68-69
5.1 Hierarchy and Division in the Community	102
5.2 Position of the Community in the larger Muslim Society	103
5.3 Types of the Family	106
5.4 Types of Marriage Prevalent in the Community	109
5.5 Respondent's Opinion Regarding Marriage within Biradari	111
5.6 Respondent's position of Marriage Alliances in the Community	113
5.7 Preferences for mate-selection in the community	113
5.8 Acceptance Level of Marriage out of Biradari	115
5.9 Freedom of Choices for mate-Selection by respondents children	115
5.10 Fixation of Mahar (Dower) among Mansooris	118
5.11 Factors leading to Divorce in the Mansoori Community.	121
5.12 Extent of Dowry in Mansoori Community	126
5.13 Expenditure on Marriages of the Children in Mansoori Community	127

5.14	Responsible Factors/Causes of Dowry in the community	128
5.15	Educational Status of Respondents	133
5.16	Respondent's Opinion about Children Education	134
5.17	Respondent's Opinion Regarding Education of Children	136
5.18	Respondent's Attitude Towards Son's Economic Career	140
5.19	Factors Responsible for Divisions of Muslim Society	143
5.20	Attitude towards Muslim Personal Law.	146
6.1	Distribution of Income Groups among Mansoori Community	152
6.2	Occupational Shift among Mansooris	158

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Map of Uttar Pradesh
2.2	Map of Bijnor District
3.1	Diagram
4.1	Figure of Instrument during performing the traditional occupation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor **Prof. M. Jamal Siddiqui**, for his guidance, continuous encouragement, stimulating discussion, scholarly direction that he bestowed on me in understanding, analyzing and interpreting of various problems involved in this study, without his support this study would have not been accomplished. I wish to keep on record my deep sense of indebtedness to **Prof. Noor Mohammad**, Chairman, Department of Sociology & Social Work for his support, guidance and encouragement in my study.

I owe a special debt to **Prof. Imtiaz Ahmad** (J.N.U. New Delhi), for giving me several suggestions, insightful and criticism for this study.

I express my sincere gratitude to my teachers **Prof. S. B. Ahmad, Dr. Abdul Matin, Dr. S. Zainuddin, Dr. Nemat Ali Khan and Dr. P.K. Mathur** and other staff of the Department for their constant inspiration and valuable cooperation.

I would be failing in my duties without appreciating and acknowledging the most valuable guidance and suggestions by my teacher **Dr Abdul Waheed**, Reader, Department of Sociology & Social Work, AMU Aligarh. This is all because of his pains taking efforts that I would complete this task.


I take this opportunity to thank **Prof. Farooque Azam Mansoori**, Department of Botany, AMU Aligarh, **Ghalib Husain Advocate, Dr. Shuozauddin Mansoori** and **Mr. Sharif Ahmad Mansoori** who have graciously given their time and advice during the course of my Ph.D. I am also thankful to my senior colleagues **Dr. Samina**, Lecturer, Deptt of Sociology & Social Work, AMU Aligarh. **Mr. Ziaur Rahman, Dr. Shariq, Mr. Ataur Rahman, Mr. Mohd Arshad** who very often advised me on various conceptual and theoretical issues related to my study. My gratitude to my colleagues and friends **Mr. Abdulah Abusaeyed Khan, Mr. Arshad Ali, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. Sarfaraz, Mr. Arif, Mr. Kafeel, Mr. Shakeel Ahmad (Tillu)** and **Mr. Fasahat Shamoon** can not be express in words. They helped me at every steps of my study.

I can not forget the help and support of the Staffs of Maulana Azad Librery, AMU and JNU Library, New Delhi. My thanks to the members of the Seminar Libraries of

Sociology & Social Work, History and Geography, AMU Aligarh. Thanks to **Dr. Ibney Hasan** Seminar Librarian of the Department of Sociology for his help in providing the books and other related materials of my research problem on time to time whenever I needed. Thanks are due to Tehsils of District, Municipal Board Officials and other Information Centers of District, relatives and friends who not only helped me in the field work but also provided valuable informations.

Finally, my special thanks and gratitude are to my loving parents, relatives and my other family members for their affection, spiritual blessing, moral support, encouragement, and financial support without which the accomplishment of this work would not have been possible. They have always been the source of my strength.

In the last, I express my gratitude to Mr. Hasan (Computer Professional) who took pain in computer typing of this thesis with care.


(ISRAR AHMAD) 5.10.05

Chapter I

Framework of the Study

FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

India is a multi-religious, multi-ethnics, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. However, along with innumerable religious minorities, the population of India is generally divided into two broader categories i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims. Though these two communities have been closely associated with each other for over thousands of years, yet there are wider variations in their socio-cultural characteristics and religious ideologies. Indian Muslims are a large and diverse groups containing within it both social and religious diversities and economic fragmentation. Muslims in India constitute about 12.12 percent of the total population of India according to the 1991 census. They are the first largest minority and the second largest religious community of India. The Indian Muslims are the third largest Muslim community in the world after Indonesia and Pakistan which are the Muslims majority nations. Before independence they constituted about 24 percent of the population but partition gave all the Muslims majority area except Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan. Though Muslims do not form a majority in any of the constituent States and Union territories except Jammu and Kashmir and Lakshdeep, yet we find them in almost in every village, town and city of India. Thus, the Muslims are distributed all over the country as a national community. This community has evolved over a long period of time through the process of conquest, migration and conversion. It has also been influenced by main stream Indian society and in turn influenced in many ways the traditional Indian society.¹

Although Muslims are united by a common faith, they are quite obviously divided into several ethnographic groups. According to Anthropological Survey of India, there are over three hundred fifty regional or ethno-linguistic Muslim groups found in various parts of India². These groups have distinct traditions and social organisations. They are more similar to non-Muslims of their areas than the Muslims of other areas³. Indian Muslims are divided in terms of sects and economic bases. Among them are Sunni, Shia, Agha Khani, Khoja, Ismaili, Qadyani etc. The Sunnis constitute the largest majority of the Muslims, and are further divided on the basis of their school of Islamic jurisprudence. If we go into a deep study, we find Hanfis are also divided into deobandis and barelwis.⁴ Apart from Islamic values many syncretic elements are parts of their socio-religious life.

Though Muslims presence in urban India is high than their national average, they are approximately 65 percent in the villages. They consist mostly of small peasantry, landless labourers, artisans as well as lower and middle classes in cities and towns i.e., in urban areas while in the rural areas they constitute the labourers either agriculturists or manual labourers (marginal workers). In short, Muslims are plural and heterogeneous community in place of homogenous which display an enormous variety in their social organization, religious belief, attitudes and values⁵. Their social and economic structure can best be understood in local and regional context. Both sociologists and social anthropologists with the exception of a few have virtually ignored Indian Muslims.⁶ Sociologists and social anthropologists have made some efforts to examine and understand the social structure of Indian Muslims over the last

few decades. The debate and discussion on the pattern of social stratification, kinship organization and occupational changes among Muslims in India is unending and much research work has been undertaken on these aspects. Apart from this, research findings on Muslims education, rituals, religion, political and cultural aspects are also available. However, the little work has been undertaken on the socio-economic structure of the Indian Muslims in the directions of their development and social change.

The present study is a modest attempt to examine and gain insight in the socio-economic structure of the Mansoori community as well as the nature of social change and development in the district of Bijnor. The scholars and social scientists both agree that Mansooris were non-Muslims before the Muslim rule in India. They are converted from Hindus caste into Islam. Some of them maintain that they came to India at the time of Muslim invasion. There is ethnographic evidence that occupationally, there have been some groups of non-Muslim population pursuing the same occupation as that of Muslim. Mansooris by the name of regional local names are also called as Dhuniya, Bahna, Dudekula, Pinjara/Penja, Panchu Kotti etc. But over the period of time, these groups have changed their traditional occupation and got absorbed in the local rural occupational structure and now the typical traditional occupation of cotton-carding, cotton-ginning etc is pursued by Muslim Mansooris only. In fact, Mansooris are constituted a group of people who are associated with their traditional occupation. During pre-independence period, they earned their livelihood by providing traditional services to the

peoples of other communities, and to the landlords, zamindars as well as other higher class people in the society.

Though their socio-economic condition is quite changed after independence yet a large number of population of Mansoori community constitute labourers and very backward among Muslim society. Hundred of tribes and castes with varying origins, customs, religions and other ritual practices come under the umbrella of "Mansoori". In terms of social division among Mansooris, there are two important groups i.e., Deshawale and Pachade among them as found in Bijnor district. Though they are associated with their traditional occupation, some differences related to their customs and traditional practices exist among them. Pachade are considered as natives of Bijnor while the Deshwale are considered who migrated to Bijnor from out side. In terms of their settlement pattern Mansooris are found in almost every village, town and city of India. Mansoori community is one of the backward settled communities among Muslims of Bijnor district in Uttar Pradesh. Being a backward community, it is hitherto remained unexplored. Thus, this is an exploratory study of the community to examining the social structure and their economy with the focus on the changes and developments in their social position in a given locality from a sociological point of view.

1.2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It is very difficult to investigate the socio-economic profiles of Muslims in India in terms of regional differences on participation in various socio-economic and educational fields as neither census reports provide any empirical surveys nor much research work are conducted to understand the situational conditions and problems of this community. However, whatever information is available both at micro and macro level of studies on Muslim community in India it clearly indicates that community is suffering from a number of disadvantages. Mansoori, as a Muslim community is socially deprived and economically backward. Since researches in social sciences particularly by sociologists and social anthropologists are very few on this community, the present study is a modest attempt to explore the status of Mansoori community in the light of socio-economic developments in post independence India.

To understand the social status of Mansoori community, we have examined some noted works on caste like factors among Muslims. Ghaus Ansari (1960)⁷ is the first social anthropologist who highlighted the existence of caste among the Muslims in Uttar Pradesh. His study is based on source material of census reports published by the British administrators. Though criticized by many scholars particularly by Imtiaz Ahmad (1978) who finds them inaccurate, Ansari's attempt has the merit of offering an explanation of origin and development of caste among Muslims.⁸ According to him, the history of social stratification among Muslims can be traced to the settlement of

four ethnic groups of noble ancestry in India. When these groups came in contact with the Aryan (who were already divided as priests, nobles and commanders) a four fold divisions of Muslims into Sayyeds, Sheikhs, Mughals and Pathans came into existence. According to Ansari, this stratification was a result of what he calls, "the dynamics of acculturation" between the two communities i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims.⁹ The division of the Sayyeds, Sheikhs, Mughals, and the Pathans into four separate caste like groups was an outcome of socio-cultural impact of the Hindu caste system points out by (Crooks, 1926; O' Malley, 1941).¹⁰ However, Ahmad (1978)¹¹ has pointed out that Ansari evades several questions. On the one hand, he narrates that the foreign rulers came to India with certain distinct ethnic backgrounds and they established four separate groups according to their noble descent. On the other hand, he contends that social stratification among them was due to cultural contact with Hindus castes. This represents a distorted explanation which does not lead to a conclusion whether stratification among Muslims took place on account of pre-occupation of their early nobility or it emerged as a result of acculturation of their social life. Moreover, three fold Aryan hierarchy is not symmetrical to the four fold division of the Muslims. Secondly, the Aryan belonged to only one racial group while the Muslims came from varied social and ethnic backgrounds. Hence, Ansari has created several ambiguities in defining caste among Muslims.

Misra (1964)¹² has done another noteworthy study of caste among Muslims which throws light on various Muslims communities in Gujrat. This study is important because it gives a historical account of the Muslim

communities and compares them with the Hindu communities. In this study, Misra has tried to explore the extent to which the Muslims social groups conform to the Hindu castes. Thus, he is first to raise an important question whether Muslim groups under the cultural impact of Hinduism can be called caste. Misra follows almost the same historical trend as Ansari has reflected. He states that the Arab conquerors brought with them fresh racial strains which led to the distinctions to be made among Muslims on ancestral line. The influence of Turkish social system encouraged the formation of a stratified hierarchical society. Thus, for Misra, the introduction of Islam being an egalitarian religion led not to the elimination of the caste system but to its proliferation. Here Misra seems to be confused in seeing the Turkish social system as an expression of the castes. Since, the Turkish social system was based on racial grouping rather than caste categories. Consequently, it is not the Islamic ideology introduced by the Turkish which led to proliferation of the caste groupings among Muslims. Rather it is the cultural impact of the Hindu castes that the racial nobility was later pronounced among Muslims as "caste pride".¹³

Misra, however, states that Islam has a lack of basic rigid caste features as they are found in the Hindu caste society. Islam has neither allocation of specified role nor is there any kind of purity and pollution index according to which the members of one Muslim social group may maintain social distance with the others. Institutionalization of caste in Muslims is, therefore, haphazard and irregular.

The work of Imtiaz Ahmad (1978) merits a sociological appreciation as it refers to some important social problems such as caste, family, kinship and marriage among Muslims in India. Different contributors have dealt with the structure and functioning of social stratification and the family, kinship and marriage among Muslims in particular localities. While defining caste among Muslims, most of the scholars have followed the cultural specification definition of institution and their specific discussion on the Hindu phenomenon¹⁴. They are justified in doing so because Muslims, infact, accept to deny the existence of caste among them. Thus, in comparison to the Hindu caste system, most of the academicians and scholars find the Muslim social structures, they as displaying some attributes of caste system such as endogamy, occupational specialization, common commensality and the hierarchy of the groups.

An analysis of these features structurally, it is found that endogamy among Hindu is observed so as to maintain purity of 'blood', whereas among the Muslims social groupings, there are no such strict rules. On the contrary, endogamy among Muslims is practiced as a tradition, just to maintain cultural homogeneity as indicated by Mines in his study of Tamil Muslims that though endogamy occurs, the desire to overriding concern for endogamy is not on account of a desire to maintain purity of blood as one expect to be associated with the system of Hindu caste ranking', but rather arises from a tendency to match spouses who "share the same economic background and the same cultural and particularly religious tradition".¹⁵ What Siddiqui¹⁶ and Ahmad¹⁷ suggest that the occurrence of endogamy as a means of purity of blood and

bone is also a tradition, which is asserted through genealogical records. Had this principle been a rule, it would have been equally practicable on all Muslim social categories. But there are only a few ashraf families who use their genealogical records as a source of their family pride rather than that of caste but cannot exist in as a general rule.

Occupational factor is another characteristic feature of which determines a caste position in the social ladder. Bhatt¹⁸ and Aggarwal¹⁹ state that each caste is associated with a traditional occupation but there is difference in the degree of correspondence between caste and traditional occupation at various levels of social hierarchy. In case of Muslims, there is no special occupation related with higher social strata (ashraf categories). For instance, Bhattacharya has pointed out those upper groups in rural West Bengal do not claim any hereditary occupation, as are found associated with castes among the Hindus social system²⁰. Ahmad (1978) also refers to the fact that Sheikh Siddiqui in Uttar Pradesh are not engaged in any specialized occupation though they were originally land record keepers.²¹ This indicates that correspondence between caste and occupation is strikingly low among the higher status groups of Muslim. They follow a more diversified pattern in occupational specialization. However, among the lower Muslim groups, occupation becomes an important status indicator as in the case of the occupations of weaving, oil-pressing, butchery, cotton-cardenning and other occupational groups etc. Further, in case of Hindus, occupation of a group has been sanctioned by religious text. On the contrary, Islamic text prescribed no particular occupation for a particular

groups or tribes. It is this very important aspect which needs to be examined and analysed.

The discussions and arguments about an occupational especialization brings us to another feature of the Hindus caste i.e., hierarchy of groups. Caste hierarchy among the Hindus is based on the relation of pure and impure which is lead to a hierarchy of statuses based on purity and pollution. The contributors, have no consensus of opinion on the question how far the notion of ritual and pollution can be found to exit among the Muslim social groups? For instance, D'Suoza (1978)²² in his study of Muslim social divisions in Mysore and Kerela admitted that hierarchical rank does not associate with the considerations of ritual purity and pollution as a basis of caste ranking. He lists four basic criteria of hierarchy among the Muslims: hypergamy, the amount of dower payable by the husband to his wife in the event of a divorce. use of special articles of distinction, and segregation and restrictions on social intercourse. Leela Dube²³ in her study of Muslims of Laccadive Islands admitted that though the different Muslim groups are hierarchically ranked, yet it does not indicate any possibility of ritual pollution on the basis of social ranking. Siddiqui and Bahttachary are interested to see that considerations and elements of ritual purity and pollution in case of Muslims. Siddiqui²⁴ reveals that symbolic ritual notion of pollution is expressed on the occasion of feasts, where the people of higher categories, do not sit and dine together with the people of lower categories. But this pattern does not reflect any direct evidence of the notion of ritual pollution. This is an act through which they maintained social distance rather than that of pollution. Bhattachary²⁵ does not reveal any

direct evidence of notion of ritual and pollution but, nevertheless, feels that such a notion is present in relations of Muslims groups.

Ahmad (1978), however, has rightly concluded that the ritual dimension of caste is weak among the Muslims and its form differs from the Hindus model in certain details. Hence, while the various field studies disclose the fact that caste among Muslims has not attained the degree of elaboration peculiar to the Hindu model, it raises certain questions in regards to Muslim caste like groups. And this question remains unanswered and it needs further explorations. Mackim Marriot (1960) in his study of caste ranking in India and Pakistan takes the position that in terms of stratified structural relationship, the Muslims operate within the framework of the caste system. He also points out that ritual interaction which largely influences caste ranking, is chiefly of two types the ritual giving and receiving of food and services.²⁶

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Mansoori is a considerably backward traditionally occupational community among Muslims in India. They are commonly perceived as converted people from the Hindu's lower castes those who earn their livelihood by their traditional occupation of cotton-thrashing, cotton-cardinning, and ginning as a primary source of income. Besides, they engage in other occupations as labourers in agricultural activities, tenants and working in other economic activities. Traditionally, there existed a close relationship in social practices, life styles of the community and other components of the Hindu society in the rural areas in India. But slowly and gradually, they have given up

these practices and started adopting the Islamic practices. They are still associated with their traditional practices. However, M.N. Srinivas's concept of sanskritisation and Mackim Marriot understanding of little and great tradition provide us a platform to analyse the structural and functional changes, which are taking place in this community in Bijnor district.

Thus, according to their occupation Mansoori community is placed at the lower stratum of social hierarchy among the Muslims. Now, Mansooris are one of the biradari (caste-like group) and occupational community among Muslims all over India. In spite of their traditional outlook, they have achieved higher status through economic betterment and education in the society. They have shifted from their traditional occupation into other economic activities over a period of time. Thus, today we find among them shopkeepers, businessmen, transporters, contractors, timber merchants, agriculturists and the people in private and government jobs etc. This study of Mansoori community is very interesting in the context of analyzing the changing trend in the society and economy among the Muslims.

Before analyzing, the basic objectives of the present study, there are some questions which strike in the mind of the researcher. These are like, what is the organization of this community? What are their socio-historical heritages? What is their role in the economy? The answers of these questions are still vague, as no one including the historians have hitherto explored the community entirely. Thus, the objectives of the present study are as follows.

- (i) To explore the socio-historical profile of the Mansoori community.

- (ii) To explore and explain intra-community and inter-community interaction patterns.
- (iii) To locate and explain the socio-economic status of the Mansoori community in Indian Muslim society in general and in district Bijnor in particular.
- (iv) To analyse the religious and ritual practices prevalent among Mansooris and to relate it with those of great tradition of Islam.
- (v) To assess and examine the occupational and economic position of Mansooris.
- (vi) To find out the nature of occupational mobility among Mansoori community and its impact on social behaviour, social institutions and social rankings.
- (vii) To examine the existing level of education particularly female members of the community and to relate its with the nature of gender relationship in Mansoori community.

1.4. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

A hypothesis is provisional formulation, a tentative solution of the problem face by the scientists. The formulation of the hypothesis is one of the most important steps in good research. A hypothesis thus, stands a fundamental need to make sound and valuable social research. Goode and Hatt state a hypothesis looks forward. It is a proposition which can be put to test to determine its validity. It may seem contrary to or in accord with, common

sense. It may prove to be correct or incorrect. It, however, leads to an empirical test in any events, whatever the outcome. the hypothesis is a question put in such a way that an answer of some kind can be forthcoming. It is an example of organized skepticism of science, the refusal to accept any statement without empirical verifications.²⁷ Wilkinson and Bhandarkar state that once the problem to be posed in the research which is finally instituted, the researcher may, if feasible, proceed to formulate tentative solutions or answers to it. These proposed solutions or explanations constitute the hypotheses that the researcher would need to test on the basis of facts already known or which can be made known. If such hypotheses are not formulated, even implicitly, the researcher can not go ahead effectively with the investigation of his problem because, in absence of direction which hypotheses typically provide, the researcher would not know what facts to work for and what relation or order to search for among them²⁸. Webster's New International Dictionary of English language 1956, explain the term "hypothesis" as a "proposition", condition or principle which is assumed, perhaps without belief in order to draw out its logical consequences and by this method to test its accord with facts which are known or may be determined.²⁹

The function of a hypothesis is to state a specific relationship between phenomenon in such a way that this relationship can be tested empirically. The basic method of demonstration of hypotheses is to design the research, so that logic will be acquire to prove or disprove of the hypotheses on the basis of resulting data analysis.

Thus, the hypothesis is very significant for the research validity. Without it, research is considered unfocused, a random empirical wandering. The result can not ever be stated as facts with a clear meaning. The hypothesis is necessary link between the theory and the investigation which leads to discovery of additions to knowledge. It helps the researcher to understand that what kind of data must be collected in order to answer the research questions. It also helps to know the way in which they should be organized most efficiently. It also helps to see and select only those facts which are relevant to the problem or difficulty, he proposes to solve.

It is, therefore, obvious that the formulation of a hypothesis is an important step in the process of scientific investigation. In this study, certain tentative and hypothetical questions are raised related to the problem of the study. It is proposed to test the following sets of hypotheses in the present study.

- (1) In terms of organization of their occupation Mansooris are self-sufficient community.
- (2) Due to the nature of their occupation, Mansooris as a community are not an integral component of traditional Jajmani system of rural society.
- (3) There is a shift from traditional occupation to diverse economic activities among Manooris.
- (4) There is a growing tendency among the Mansooris to adopt the elements of great tradition of Islam and to incorporate it in their daily religious and rituals practices.

- (5) The educational standard of Mansoori community particularly of its female members is low; hence changes in gender relationship are significantly slow.
- (6) Though the level of educational standard among Mansooris is poor, their attitude towards education is positively changing.
- (7) Urban migration has increased social mobility of the Mansoori community which has subsequently raised their social and economic status in the society.

1.5. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The theoretical basis of this study rests upon the principles of social stratification which is an emergent condition of occupational groups and the principles by which the distribution of these positions are accorded to them. The system of such given positions is based on ideas, values and beliefs of a particular society. Max Weber (1967) stated that social stratification is an "organized manifestation of unequal power in society". For him, the institutionalized power can be classified into three categories; viz. economic, social and political for analytical purposes. In accordance with class, status and party, the power is designated within each of these categories.

Thus, in the analysis of theoretical perspective, Weber points out the existence of caste system among the "Muhammadans" of India and among the "Buddhists". He said that caste groups are similar to status groups in which the social position of a person is determined through a particular life styles and

economic pursuits. "Status groups are generally communities."³⁰ Weber has also elaborated the meaning of status groups while discussing class situation.³¹

Sociologists refer about class in terms of societies where the work groups are differentiated and status groups refer to societies where the work groups are undifferentiated (Parkin, 1972:29-39³² Lipset & Bendix; 1974:156-158³³, Fallers, 1974:143³⁴, Therbon, 1978:141).³⁵ The second attribute of status is the social esteem and honour accorded to members of the society. In this usage, 'status' according to Weber, may be connected with any equality shared by a plurality and in fact, it can be a kin to a class situation. Class situations are linked in the most varied ways with status distinctions³⁶. Although class and status refer to two different dimensions, Weber suggests a relative dependence of status on class. He considered the class situation as a predominant in view of the fact that a particular style of life expected for numbers of status groups is continually conditioned by their economic condition³⁷. However, Weber has tried to consider class and status as distinct from each other. Another attribute of status is that class and status are connected with each other even when they are distinct.

According to Weber, social status may be partly or even wholly determine class situation, however, being identical with it.³⁸ It can, however, be concluded that for Weber, status and class refer to one phenomenon and no distinction between them is maintained although both are sharply distinguished. Status, for Weber is the "judgment of men by men" which is determined by a "specific positive or negative estimation of honour."³⁹ Further more, status like

class, has also particularistic nature and can be classified into positive and negative types. This particularistic nature of status groups may be determining the position of community in a whole social system. Hence, Edmond Leach (1971)⁴⁰ while criticizing Weber argues that caste in its structural as well as cultural sense conforms to "closed status groups" of the United States and of the European nobility. This notion of caste like structure among Indian Muslims social groups may also conform to Weber's idea of 'status groups'.

Weber (1967) emphasis that social stratification an "organized" manifestation of unequal powers in society". For analytical purposes, institutionalized power (as defined by Weber) can be classified into three categories; economic, social and political within each of these categories. power is designed according to class, status and party. According to Weber, all people with similar economic power belonged to same "class". Weber specially used economic term as a means by which economic power could be gained. For instance, ownership can result in the monopoly or control over the sale of economic goods and their manufactures. This kind of ownership becomes a form of economic power.

Thus, for Weber the first aspect on power is the market place and second aspect of power is social. Weber used the term "status" to mark off the strata in this sphere. According to Weber (1967) all persons who enjoy the same social honour and prestige and who are living according to similar standards, generally belong to the same "status groups". By this definition the power of a person in social sphere derives from the amount and extent of prestige that he

receives from others. Status unlike economic class depends upon community, since prestige depends upon the judgment made by other members of society. In effect the individual gains his social honour and social position on the basis of social evaluation of other members of the society, whereas class is a form of impersonal placement in a common market situation. Status is, thus, limited to personal evaluation and is judged by the standards that are accepted in the community. Power is generally managed by the elite section of the society mostly those who control the system of economic production. Levels of occupation, education and ancestral background are generally used as a base for evaluating the status of a group or a community in society. Its reflection is often in terms of norms, values and behavioural standards that are realized by a system of estimation of life styles.

Hence, it appears that the present study could be conducted in terms of Weber's thesis where caste is considered as a particular status group. The distinction between economic class and status group that Weber uses may be applied to the study of Muslims in general and Mansooris in particular. Infact, Mansooris among Muslims in India defined as a caste based community by many sociologists and social anthropologists. The presence of caste among Muslims is debatable question for sociologists and social anthropologists. There are few who refuse to accept caste among Muslims as the argument is that Muslims who believe in Islam do not have an established ranked order for them. Islam is a monolithic system whose followers are considered equal in the eyes of God and the Prophet (SAS). What base superior or distinguishable is the action (Aml) of a person? However, the other view point which is

predominant and empirically verifiable is that Muslims like in any other community have some sorts of ranking and stratification (Ansari, 1960; E. Leach, 1960; Dumont, 1970; Ahmad, 1978).

As stated earlier Mansooris as an occupational community had been a part of wider economic relationship of Indian society particularly in the pre-independence era. The new economic and social order which was ushered in after India Independence affected the living of many peoples. This new wealth as Baily (1967) puts it, helped in brings about changes in Indian society. The Mansooris were also not unaffected. The economic incentives provided opportunities to the depressed classes for mobility and change. Mansooris could also avail such chances. But with a difference, their relative economic mobility could not provide them adequate social mobility. Weber argues it like this. Weber makes a distinction between class, status and power. Mansooris, though economically mobile, are not socially that much acceptable in society. In fact, preliminary observations show that an economically poor Pathan or even an Ansari or a Tailor etc are commanding higher status and prestige in society in comparison of Mansooris. In the hierarchy of occupations, cotton-carding is considered a low grade occupation. The stigma attached to this occupation is so deep that even when member of this community give up their traditional occupation the label of local term Dhunia or Dhuniya is contemptuously used to degrade the concerned individual. The blanket term used for such low graded occupational groups is known as "Neech or kameen". It indicates the deep rooted caste stratification and notion of purity and pollution of traditional Indian society.

Thus, it appears that occupation is important to determine social status of an individual or a community. The society differentiates some occupations as 'superior' or inferior. Ansari (1960) divides Muslim occupational groups into "clean" and "unclean". He draws an analogy of "pure" and "impure" among both Hindu and Muslims caste like Darzi (Tailor), Qasai (Butchers); Hajjam (Barbars), Dhobis (washermans), Telis (oil-pressres); Julahas (weavers), Dhunia or Behnas (Mansooris or Naddeaf) etc. are considered clean occupational groups. The unclean occupational groups include Bhangis (sweepers) and Chamars (skinners) which are absent altogether among Muslims quoted by Ansari (1960) and Misra (1964). These occupational groups among Muslims are endogamous and exhibited caste like structure. They conform to Weber's status group on account of certain styles of life which are inherited and passed from generation to generation. According to Weber in the domain of a 'status group' all persons who live the same style of life are accorded the same social estimation of social honour. The concept of status, then, is conceived as a dimension of stratification which is functionally similar to caste like groups found among Muslims in India. Theoretically, economic mobility is invariably associated with the status mobility and the acquisition of power in the society.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Any piece of sociological research is supposed to contribute in some sense to some addition in the existing volume of the knowledge. Keeping this in view, the present study has been carried out. As a community study of a

group living in a regional context with a particular occupation, it has two types of major significance in terms of theory of rural society.

The study may provide us some insights to better understand the existing framework of the social relationships and dynamics of change. We know that in Indian agrarian rural society different occupational groups and communities live in a holistic manners and a system of interdependent. What are the changes and its patterns taking place both at intra-community and inter-community levels may also be explained and understood? The forces of urbanization, modern education, democratic decentralization and the Panjayati Raj have introduced tremendous influences in the rural agrarian society and economy. The structural differentiation and reallocation of the social position are taking place, generating the new forces and contradiction. This study as a response to all such developments, breakdown of the traditional social structure and interplay of forces within and without community will constitute the significant focus of attention in this study.

The second aspect of importance relates to policy implication to meet the objectives of welfare state that central and state governments come with different policies and development programs for the development of social, economic condition and educational status of the weaker sections of Indian society. For an appropriate and effective policy formulation data and information from the grass roots level is a very significant input. Mansooris as argued earlier are educationally and economically backward community among

Muslims. Hence, they share in governmental interventions through development programs and schemes. This study brings out some useful inferences which may be important in the programmes implementation, some policy decision making and public administration.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Khalidi, Omar. 1995. *Indian Muslim since Independence*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., pp.1-2.
2. Singh, K.S. 1992. *People of India: An Introduction*. Calcutta: An Anthropological Survey of India.
3. Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1973. Four Edited Volumes, pp. 76, 81, 86.
4. Metcalf, Barbara. 1989. *Day of Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900.*; University Press of California.
5. Khalidi, Omar. 1995. Ibid, p. 3-4
6. Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1972. "For a Sociology of India", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol. 6, pp. 172-178.
7. Ansari, Ghaus. 1960. *Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Culture Contact*. Lucknow: Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society.
8. Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1978. *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Publication House, p. 1.
9. Ansaris, Ghaus. 1960. op cit p. 1
10. Ibid, p. 96.
11. Ahmad, Imtiaz, 1978. *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Publication House, pp. 173-178.
12. Misra, S.C. 1964. *Muslim Communities in Gujrat*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, pp. 28-31, 32
13. Ibid, p. 32.

14. Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1978. "Introduction" in (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. Delhi: Manohar Publication House, pp. 2-3.
15. Mine, Mattison. 1978. "Social Stratification among Muslim Tamils in Tamil Nadu, South India", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste an Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, pp. 159-168.
16. Siddiqui, M.K.A. 1978. "Caste among the Muslims of Calcutta": in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House, pp. 257-58.
17. Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1978. "Endogamy and Social Mobility among Siddiqui Sheikhs of Allahabad", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication, p. 177.
18. Bhatti, Zarina. 1978. "Status and Power in a Muslim dominated villages of Uttar Pradesh", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House. p. 211.
19. Aggarwal, Pratap. 1978. "Caste Hierarchy in Meo village of Rajasthan", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi, Manohar Publication House, pp. 150-152.
20. Bhattcharya, Rajnit K. 1978. "The Concept and Ideology of Caste among the Muslims of Rural West Bengal", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed),

Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House, p. 270

21. Ahmad Imtiaz. 1978. opcit, pp 185-187.
22. D' souza, Victor. 1978. "Status groups among the Moplaps on South West Coast of India", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*; New Delhi: Manohar publication House, pp. 41-56.
23. Dube, Leelawati. 1978. "Caste analogue among the Laccadive Muslims", in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi, Manohar Publication House, pp. 37-56.
24. Siddiqui, M.K.A. 1978. opcit, p. 260
25. Bhattacharya, Rajnit K. 1978. opcit, p. 291
26. Marriot, Mackim. 1960. *Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan*, Deccan College Monograph, Poona: Deccan college Post Graduate and Research Institute, Series No. 23, p. 23.
27. Goode, William and Hatt, Paul K. 1981. *Methods in Social Research*. Singapor: McGraw Hill Book company, p. 56.
28. Wilkinson, T.S. and Bhandarkar, P.L. 1988. *Methodology and Techniques of Social Research*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publication House, p. 176.
29. *Ibid*, p. 76.
30. Weber, Max. 1967. "Essays in sociology"; in H.H. Gerth and C.Wrigh Mills (ed), *From Max Weber*, Routledge and Kegan Ltd, p. 186.

31. Weber, Max. 1967. Ibid, p. 193.
32. Parkin, Frank. 1972. *Class and Inequality and Political Order*. London: Paladin Publication: pp. 29-39.
33. Bendix, R and Lipset. 1974. *Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd. pp. 156-158.
34. Fallers, Lloyd. 1974. "Social Stratification and Economic Progress in Africa", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour, Martin Lipset (eds); *Class, Status and Power*, London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd, p. 143.
35. Therbon, G. 1978. *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules*. London: New Left Brooks, p.141.
36. Weber, Max. 1967. "Essays in Sociology", in H.H. Gerth and Mills, (ed); *From Max Webers*; London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd, p.187.
37. Weber, Max, 1967, Ibid, p. 187.
38. Ibid, p. 405.
39. Ibid, p. 188
40. Leach, Edmund, R. 1971. (ed) *Aspects of Caste in South India, Cylon and North-West Pakistan*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

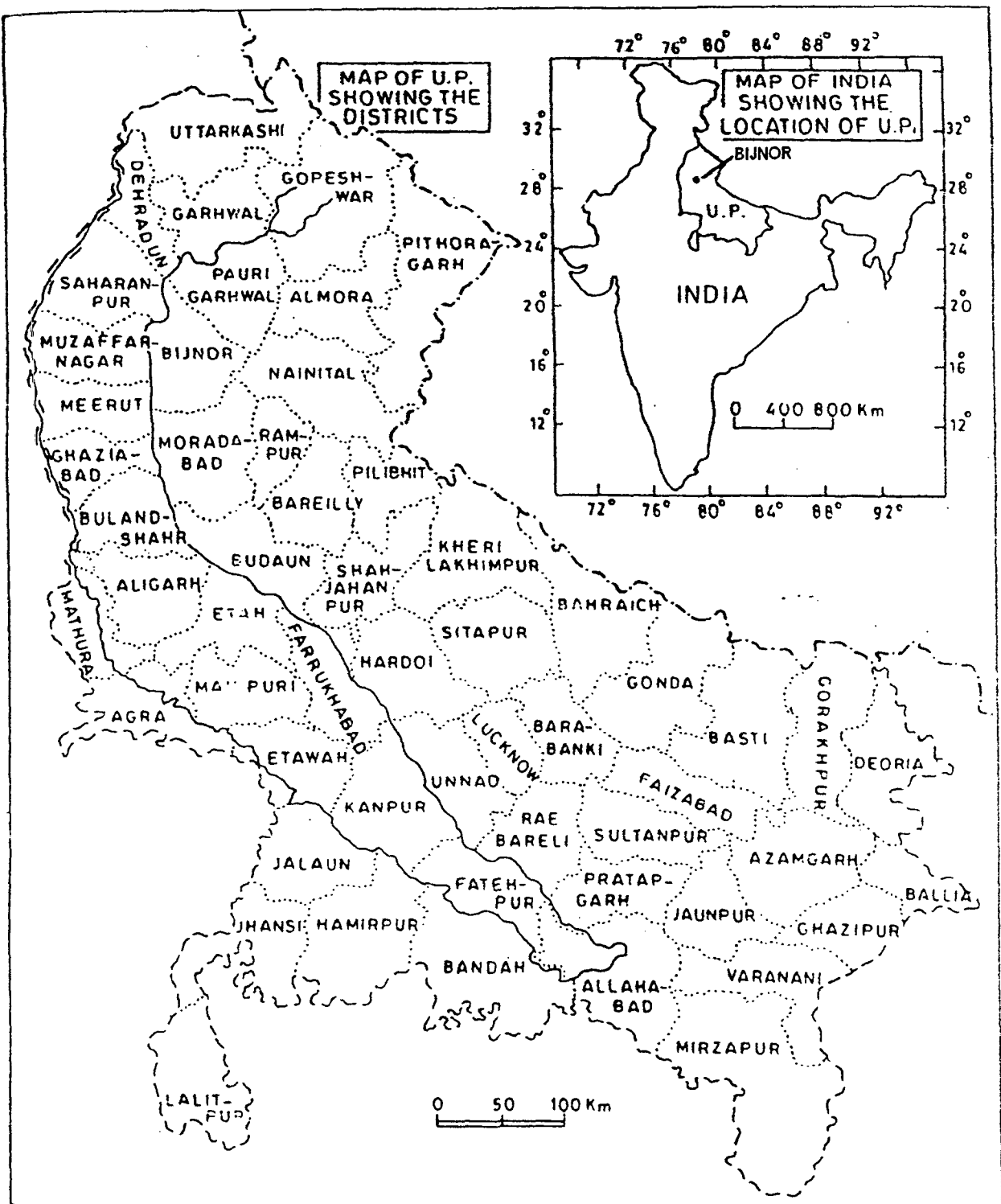
Chapter II

Description of the Field:
Bijnor District

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD: BIJNOR DISTRICT

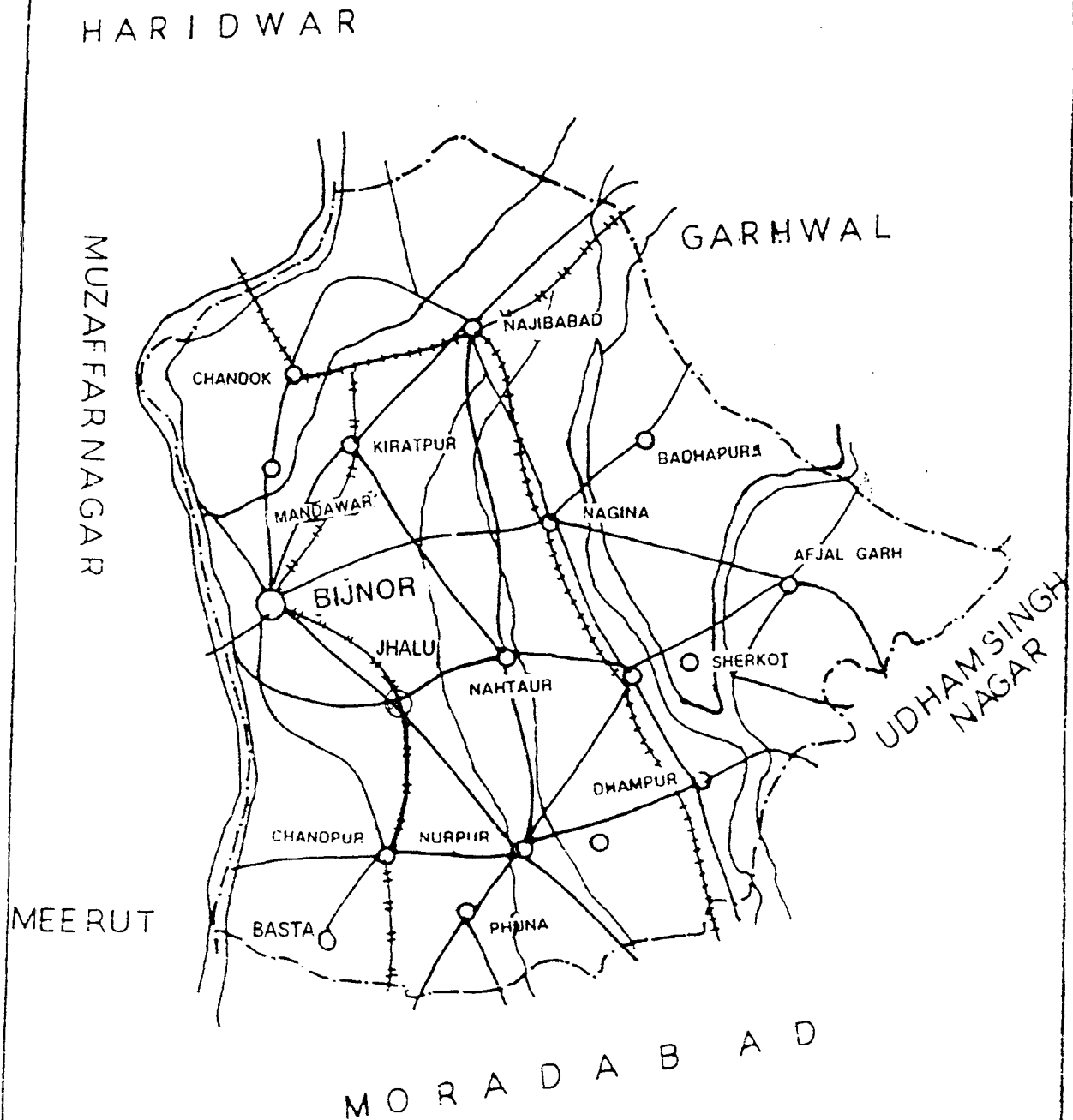
2.1 LOCATION:

District Bijnor also known as "BIJNAUR" forms the part of Meerut division and occupies north-west position of the Rohilkhand or Bareilly division which is roughly the triangular stretch of the country with its apex to the north. It is in the northern part i.e., a tarai belt of the state of the Uttar Pradesh¹. It is bounded by the district of Saharanpur, Muzzaffar Nagar and Meerut in the Western part. It is separated by the river Ganga on its extreme northern strip which touches the district of Dehradun. To its north and north-east lies in the hill district of Garhwal dividing the line by road to the district from Haridwar along the foot of the Himalayas to Ramnagar, Haldwani and Tanakpur, on the south-east it brushes for a short distance of district Naini Tal from which it is separated by the river Philka, district of Muradabad bounds the remaining south-eastern part of the district. The district lies between the latitude $29^{\circ}.2' \text{ N}$ and $29^{\circ}.58' \text{ of North}$ and longitude $78^{\circ}.0' \text{ E}$ and $78^{\circ}.59' \text{ of East}$. Its maximum length from north to south is about 120 kms and the maximum breadth from east to west is about 90kms^2 . The total area of district Bijnor is liable to change slightly from time to time due to the erratic behaviour of two major rivers i.e., the Ganga and Ramnagar. According to the Central Statistical Organisation in 1971, the district covered an area of 4852.0 sqkm and occupied the 29th place in the list of the state in regard to its size.³ Map of the state and district shows its location in the map of India.



Map 1: Districts of Uttar Pradesh

A Sketch Map
of
BIJNOR DISTRICT (U.P.)



Map 2: Major Towns of District Bijnor

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In ancient period, the area of district Bijnor appears that much awaits the explorer, who excavated the mounds of ruins existing in many parts. The local legend claims that the purification of Sita (wife of Lord Rama) by fire took place at the site of district's pargana "Bashta", where now is a famous temple called Sitabani⁴. The historical record indicates that the district Bijnor was founded by Raja Ben. As a first legend of historical pretensions, he belonged to the great epic of Mahabharata and the Puranas. He was one of the minor hero kings of Northern India⁵. Local legend relates that Shakuntala a major character in Kalida's immortal Sanskrit plays 'Abhigyan Shkuntalan' was as a child found near Rawli ⁶ by the sage karnva and brought in his Ashram⁷. This popular belief goes back to the oldest historical proof about the location of district.

The district of Bijnor forms the part of the Panchala which was a great kingdom at the time of Mahabharata war. The country came to be known as Panchala from the five sons of Bhrimayasva. The Panchalas were, thus, the branch of the Bharats. Though, Panchalas is not mentioned in the Rigveda but according to the Satapatha Brahmana, kirvi was the older name of the Panchalas who were a composite tribe closely associated with the kurus who ruled at Hastinapur.⁸ As noted by Mazumdar and Pusalkar state that the Panchala's represent the five tribes of Rigveda but it is not probable according to the author of Vedic Index.⁹

Achitra was the capital of North Panchala kingdom, which was extended approximately to the north as far as the fort hill of the Siwalik. The Panchalas formed a sangha or republican corporation in the 6th and 5th century B.C¹⁰.

The Panchalas was annexed to the Madhaya by the Nandas after the murder of king Kalasoka, the Sisunga dynasty. The coins of Kushan ruler and its one of the later ruler showed that the different rulers have been ruled over the district. Thus, after Nandas, it was ruled by many dynasties among which prominent were Muryas, Sungas, Kushans, Guptas, Harsha, Gujar, Pritiharas and Rashtrakutas till 890 A.D. About the middle of the 12th century, the Jats and the Rajput seem to have established themselves formally in Bijnor region, probably in Mandawar¹¹, which had been rebuilt their main center of ruling but immediately, it was taken by the Sultan in 1114 A.D. and their downfall assumed independence and played an important role in rising Delhi rulers till as late as the time of Akbar, Mughal emperor of India.

The Annals of Bijnor district under the earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi are to a large extent identical with the history of the country which is known as Katehr¹², and the region of Bijnor district formed the part of Katehr. It first seems to have been included in the single government of Budaun and afterwards; it has been divided between Budaun and Sambhal Sarkar. The Sultan of Delhi, Qutubuddin Aibak captured Budaun in 1198 A.D., but did not seem to have carried his arms as far as north of Bijnor¹³. In 1202 A.D., he was forced to lead another expedition to Budaun when he defeated Lakhan pal, a prince of Rashtrakuta dynasty. He left Shams-uddin Iltutmish at Budaun and ruled till 1210 A.D.¹⁴. In 1227 A.D., Iltutmish led a large expedition to the area and severely punished to the Katehriyas by conquering the whole of Katehr and capturing the Mandawar forts which is 2.8 km north of Bijnor. During his expedition, Iltutmish built a mosque in Mandawar which still exists there. In

1248 A.D., the district under the rule of Malik Jalaluddin had been put under Budaun and Sambhal Sarkars. At the time of Jalaluddin Firoz, a rebellion occurred in 1289 and after conquering, he founded the town of Jalalabad situated in Najibabad Tehsil of the district¹⁶. During sultanate period, Katehr was one of the most troublesome areas in terms of rebellion for the domination of power over the central parts of the country. This area was mostly covered by thick forest and interlaced by the rivers and with rivulets could always provide the shelter to the rebellious elements. The incursion of Mughals in 1308 A.D., during the reign of Ala-uddin Muhammad, they entered into Bijnor under the rule of Ali Beg Burgan and met there with Malik Kapoor near Amroha. Frequent revolts of Katheriya Rajuts led many Sultans such as Iltutmish, Balban, Jalaluddin Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodhi to march into the country for crushing the revolts. A revolt also broke out in Shershah Suri's period, Humanyu entrusted to Nasir Khan with the task of recovering Sambhal and he personally marched to quell the revolt¹⁷. To keep katehriyas under the control, he built a fort Mordhaj at Najibabad Tehsil of the district.

During the reign of Babar, Humanyu, Akbar and Jahangir, the country remained more or less peaceful. It was the part of the Sambhal and Budaun Sarkar. One of the parganas as the unit of revenue administration during the reign of Akbar was "Azampur" (now called Bashta).¹⁸ Despite Mughal presences, the Kateher was largely headed by the Rajputs of various clans like, Gaur, Bachal, Chauhans and Rathour as noted in an Ain-i-Akbari in 1595-96 A.D.¹⁹. In Ain-i-Akbari contains information about the general conditions of the district of that period. But, the frequent revolts of Katehriyas seem to have

caused a change in the policy of the Mughal government towards the Raputs zamindars of Katehr. It seems that Mughals had now started granting to Afghan military commanders in Katehr which facilitated their migration to the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁰

Afghans were being settled and assigned zamindaris in different parts of Sambhal and Budaun Sarkar. Among their various settlements, prominent ones were Bahadurgarh (Meerut), Hasanpura (Muradabad), Sahjahanpur, Farukhabad, Maliahabad, Islamganj, Aliganj and Qaimganj founded by the Afghans during the period of Bangash Nawab. In comparison to these settlements, their entry into Katehriya's strong holds in Bijnor under the rule of Oudh and Rohilkhand. But they did not have any significant zamindari here till the pre 17th century A.D.²¹

Though Afghans who came to this region as military commanders, Mercenaries and immigrants, they established themselves as a politically dominant group very soon due to the political disorder after the death of Aurangzeb. Many of the Afghans belonged to Rohillas a place in Afghanistan, so it is known as Rohillas.²² The whole country was by this time full of adventurers and many of Rohillas had a settled home in Bijnor and adjacent districts.

It was on the eve of this period of political instability that Daud Khand Rohilla, an Afghan adventurer arrived in Kateher and assumed the leadership of armed band of Afghans. It is said that he was a slave of Shah Alam Khan, belonged to Rohilla in Afghanistan. Daud Khan parted away from his master and came to Katehr where he established himself as a highway robber. He

acquired considerable wealth which he used to build forts in the forest and organizing a large force. In a short, while the fame of his exploits attracted number of Afghan followers under his banner²³.

After the death of Daud Khan, his adopted son Ali Mohammad Khan proceeded with his army into district and arranged a compromise with Mir Manu, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage with huge dowry. Ali Mohammad Khan gave Jalalabad pargana to Nazib Khan, a Qamar Khel Afghan increased his possessions in the district and Saharanpur and obtained the title of Najib-u-dullah. He founded Najibabad town a tehsil of the district in 1757, A.D.²⁴. Thus, the Afghans established their new settlements at Bijnor, Chandpur, Mandawar and Nehtour places of the district.²⁵ But, slowly and gradually the power of Rohillas had weakened due to internal conflict, the division of Rohilkand among three sons of Ali Mohammad Khan and powerful onslaught by Shuja-uddullah, Rohilkand had become the battle ground in which Rohillas were finally defeated. Thus, in 1774 A.D., at the time of Shuja-uddullah, Rohilkhand was annexed to the Subah of Oudh. Subsequently the entire area was surrendered to the Britishers in November, 1801 in the lieu of mounting debts on accounts of maintenance of British forces. However, there was a constant struggle between the British forces and the local Zamindars till 1858 when the parts of Rohilkand was subjugated by the Britishers.²⁶

Under the Rule of East India Company, the whole area of Rohilkand division was divided into two broader districts i.e. Bareilly and Muradabad in 1801 A.D. Bijnor region was detached from Muradabad district in 1817 A.D. and it was constituted into a separate district with its headquarter at Nagina. In

1824 A.D., headquarter of the district was shifted to Bijnor city. District Bijnor consists of about 20 towns of which ten are administered by Municipal Board while others by Town Area Committees under the Municipalities Act, 1850. Bijnor had five Tehsils viz. Najibabad, Bijnor itself, Nagina, Dhampur and Chandpur but in 1894, Chandpur Tehsil was abolished by British government and its component parts were distributed into Bijnor and Dhampur Tehsils. Today it has only four Tehsils and eleventh development blocks. District constitutes about 131 Nyay Panchayat. (i.e. Panchayat Adalat) under the Uttar Pradesh Panchayat Act, 1947. It has 1090 Gram Sabha (i.e., Gaon Panchayat) which are functioning in 3055 village of the district.²⁷

2.3 GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY:

(i) Physical Features:

The area of district is almost an open plain with slight undulation and possesses many diverse characteristics in its physical aspects. Various natural divisions may be briefly indicated but for a fuller account reference must be made to the articles on the different parganas. By and large the greater portion of the district is open plain and highly cultivated country such as is found throughout the north of the Rohilkand. The surface is broken by several rivers which mark the water-partings. The rivers and their tributaries as well as the valleys of the more important drainage lines possess distinctive features as compared with the upland area. The tract in the district is sub-divided into three unequal belts by Malin and Chhoiya rivers, which have cut their way through high ground at some remote period. To the east of the western watershed, the country slopes gradually down into a broad low laying belt which traverses the

whole of the central portion of the district. It is drained by the Ban Ganga and Karula rivers which flow from north to south. In the east, the country again changes and becomes a narrow belt which extends as far as the valley of the khoh and Ramganga. There remains the low fringe of Khadar along the Ganga to the west. In Najibabad to the north, it is narrow and almost insignificant strip, but in pargana Mandawar it widens out into a fairly level tract of alluvial loam and clay. Further, south in the Daranagar pargana, the high rank bank approaches closes to the stream.²⁸

The surface being diversified rivers, valleys in district of Bijnor. The main river of the district is Ganga which enter the district from the north, close to its points of origin from hills above Haridwar and flows southwards and south-east, separating Tehsil. Bannwala in pargana of Mandawar and the rest district at the Kamharia in extreme south-west corner of pargana Bashta. The others rivers, the Paili Rao (in Garhwal), Rawasan, Lahpi known as Rauli hill are their tributaries which mostly rise in the tarai belt and generally run through district in north-westerly direction to join the Ganga. The another river Ganga, which is run from north to south at the center of the district and rises in Najibabad. The khoh the Ramganga and their tributaries which run through the district in tarai belt and joined to the Ramganga²⁹.

Owing to its physical position Bijnor enjoys a climate which is probably superior to that of any district in Uttar Pradesh. The comparatively high latitude continued with the proximity of the Himalyas and the pressures of many hills. Streams render the district at the same time moist and cool while the general prevalence of the sand in the soil, slope of the country and an adequate

drainage system. System preserves it from the excessive dampness, which usually characterized the sub-mountain tracts. The temperature of high period is much shorter than in the district to the south and does not start till the second half of the April³⁰.

(ii) Economy:

The district is well connected with Railway. The broad gauge rail tracts run to the total length of 189 Km in the district. All important Mandis (Markets) of the district are connected with railways and the roadways tracts. There is no national highway road. While only state highway roads are well established and other village roads are also well connected with district. The district of Bijnor is well stratified with electricity from town to town and from village to village. There is good consumption of the electricity for domestic and commercial purposes. The sources of income are from different levels³¹.

(a) Agriculture:

The economy of the district is predominantly agricultural as 65.4 percent of the working force is engaged as cultivators and agricultural labourers. Kharif and Rabi are the two principal crops grown in the district. Wheat occupies the important place followed by paddy both in terms of the area and production. Sugarcane is the most important commercial crops in the district grown in 32.9 percent of the total areas sown it is increasing day by day and it is due to the establishment of sugar mills as well as large numbers of sugarcane crushers at the district of Bijnor. Thus, the sugarcane is the main cash crop in Bijnor. Wheat, Paddy, Gram, Arhar, Masoor, Maize. Pease, Jawar, Bajra, Ground nuts

etc are other important crops of the district. The major non-food crops in both Kharif and Rabi consist of oil seeds, potatoes and other vegetables and fruits³².

Advancement in the field of agriculture, science and technology and adaptation of improved agricultural practices during the last decades, have laid to appreciable increase in food production. However, marginal and poor farmers of the district have not been able to take the benefit of these developments. The people of the district are not merely used of modern techniques of agricultural production which had led to its growth but also electrification of more and more villages availability of irrigation facilities contributed a lot in this direction. Thus, the district is more predominant in agricultural economy.

(b) Industry

Geological surveys have revealed that there are some deposits of fine sand and the stones of good qualities in the district. Mining and quarrying do not occupy a place of importance in the district. Though some of the industries were established (not much heavy) before independence, yet the district was poor in industrial developments. A number of industrial units under large scale and small scales have come up. The industrial development has caught on with the expansion of traditional handicrafts. The products of the district not merely enjoy the country wide market but are also accepted abroad. The brass art objects utility articles and utensils are developed in the district. The manufacturing of brass articles occupies the foremost position in manufacturing activities of the district and almost concentrated in Bijnor city and other urban areas³³.

The infrastructure built up by the development of brass industries which leads to the development of other small scale industries. There are six sugarcane mills and some sugarcane mills are proposed to establish in Bijnor, Changpur, Dhampur, Seohara, Bundki and even one is under construction at the rural area to meet the demands of the farmers. Nagina is a Municipal Board Area is famous for its artificial glass industry and wooden toys work. Handloom weaving of fabrics is also very important industry in the district. There is one cotton-mill at Nagina which is generating the employment opportunities to the people of the district. Khadi, handloom cloth, knives iron goods, papers mills, agricultural implements, sugarcane crushers (Gur crushers) are also manufactured largely in many towns of the districts. Distillery factory at Seohara, bottling company at Najibabad, Micro-Abrasive Ltd. and Straw Board mill at Dhampur, glass making factory at kiratpur are largely in operation at the district Bijnor. According to Annual Survey of Industries, 1978, there were 281 units or factories registered under Indian Factories Act, 1948 some of them are large scales but the larger number of industries are found of small scales, mainly sugarcane crushers, brick kilns, rice mills, brush manufacturing, engineering and furniture work etc. to employ the persons of the district.

For the economic development the district is well associated with different parts of the states and country through various means of transportations. Through railway, the district is connected with Delhi national capital of India and other states of India. The district well served by the state highways. Thus, the district of Bijnor is agriculturally more fertile but in terms

of industrially is less developed district which is accessible from all the direction of in India.

2.4 Demographic Distribution:

According to 1901, census the district Bijnor had the population of 779951 out of which 497851 (66.73 percent) were Hindus; 271701 (33.184 percent) were Muslims and remaining 5730 population were other religious groups. The distribution of the Muslims varied in the different tehsils. The highest number of Muslims population was constituted in Dhampur, Najibabad and Nagina tehsils. While other tehsils contained a number of Muslim population in small proportion than the district as a whole.³⁴

From 1901 to 1991 that is within nine decades the population of the district Bijnor rose to 24,098,84 persons out of which 14,194,79 (57.83 percent) were Hindus while Muslims constituted about 9,904,05 (40.35 percent) of the total population of the district. The figures of other religious communities are: Sikhs 38,081 (0.5 Percent); Christians 1960 (0.08 percent); Jains 1790 (0.07 percent); and 394 (0.02 percent) were constitute other communities of the district³⁵. The growth rate of the population of the district from 1901 to 1991 is shown in Table 2.1 as given below:

Table: 2.1. Growth Rate of Population of Bijnor district from 1901-1991

1	2	3	4	5
Years	Total population	Hindus	Muslims	% of Muslim to the Total Population
1901	779951	497851	271701	34.83
1911	806089	512732	294357	36.51
1921	813568	511352	291358	35.81
1931	835469	521413	314656	36.80

1941	910223	573061	337162	37.04
1951	984554	610865	359189	36.48
1961	1190987	742253	435239	36.54
1971	1490185	923263	546282	36.65
1981	1927023	1147155	765063	39.70
1991	2454521	1419479	990405	40.35

Sources: (i) Census report of India
(ii) Census report of Uttar Pradesh
(iii) District Gazetteer of Bijnor

Among Hindus, the prominent castes/communities were Chamar, Rajputs, Brahmans, Malis, Sainis, Baniyas, Jats, Chauhans, and others are Kumhars, Bahais, Gadariyas, Bhangis, Gujjars, Dakauts, Kashyats, Khatites, Banjaras, Chippis (cotton printers), the Thakurs, Khatri and other numerous caste/communities among the Hindus exist in district Bijnor. Their traditional occupation was mostly agriculture, artisans and manual agricultural labourers. And today, most of them are known as schedule castes and other backward castes. Besides these were Brahmins, Rajputs, Kashatriyas and Baniyas popularly known as dwij (twice born). The Baniyas who were only the trading caste and even they were money lenders and shopkeepers and involved in other business activities as traders. However, after independence of India, a sizable numbers of other castes came in the district who was mainly engaged in the trade and commerce in the urban areas³⁶.

Though, the agriculture is the main activity and cultivating castes are main communities, yet the degree of urbanization in the district is 28.28 percent which is far higher than 19.89 percent of urbanization in Uttar Pradesh as a whole. The urban area of the district consists of 20 towns out of which 10

are administered by Municipal Board whereas eight are looked after by Notified area committees. Bijnor is as one of the Municipal Boards³⁷.

Muslims constitute about 43.38 percent of the population of the district. Of total Muslim population 45 percent is urban residing in the different urban settlements in the districts. Thus, this indicates that the level of urbanization is not merely more than that of the district as a whole but also so higher than the average rate of urbanization among Muslim of Uttar Pradesh, which is about 28.48 percent³⁸.

Despite of being more urbanized and agriculturally rich, the district of Bijnor is very backward in the field of education. According to 1991, census the total number of literates (excluding the population in the age group of 0-6 years) are 17, 81,511 person out of which 5, 46,209 (52.561 percent) are males and 2, 35,302 (26.47 percent) of females. In the rural areas of the district is 38.56 percent out of which 52.18 percent are males and 22.50 percent of females while in urban areas is 46.38 percent out of which males is 53.70 percent and 38.03 percent of females are literates. The rate of literacy of this population to the total population of the district (excluding 0-6 years age group according to 1991 census are show in the given table³⁹.

Table 2.2 Literacy Percentage in Bijnor District According to 1991, Census

Area	Persons	Males	Females
Rural	38.56	52.18	22.50
Urban	46.38	53.70	38.03
Total	40.53	52.56	26.47

Sources: Census Report of U.P., 1991 and see S.C. Bhatt. 1998. Encyclopedia: Gazetteer of Districts, vol. U.P.

In short, we can say that Bijnor is one of the districts of Uttar Pradesh which has a long history, developed in agriculture and growing in the field of industries. Though the district is more urbanized and accessible through the roads and railways tracts from all the directions in India, it is educationally very poor and still the people are attached with traditional as well as rural practices of Indian society.

2.5 Biradaris:

Indian Muslims are socially heterogeneous and stratified community. Indeed, innumerable known and unknown, hereditary, hierarchical, endogamous and occupational groups exist among them. Words like biradari, Zat and Quam are interchangeably used for such caste like groups. Biradari as a social group that consisted of those whose ancestral occupation was common and among them marital alliance could be arranged. Every biradari according to them is higher and lower to one another in local social structural arrangement not merely in Bijnor district but also in general. A biradari is known for its pesha (occupation) and ritirizaw (customs and traditions). It has its shinakht (i.e. identity), muquam (i.e. social status) and a sense of brotherhoodness. Despite of their belief in the equality of all Muslims, they justify the existence of biradari and practices of endogamy.

Indian Muslims are generally divided into two broader categories i.e. ashraf (nobles) and ajlaf (i.e. coarse rabbles). The term ashraf refers to four ethnic groups of the foreign extraction such as Sayyeds, Sheikhs, the Mughals and the Pathans. The ajlaf category, on the other hand includes converts from

local Hindu castes, artisans and occupational and serving castes of Hindus such as Butchers, Tailors, Oil-Pressers, Spinners, Weavers, Cotton-carders (Mansooris) etc. Mansoori is a lower caste and depressed class in the social hierarchy of the Muslims.

Sociologists and social anthropologists have argued that the social system of both categories confirms to the Hindu caste system. Although, there is consensus of opinion that the ideology of Islam discouraged the formation of segments, its existence found among them. Among Muslims as there is no strict caste system (i.e. biradari system), therefore, inter-marriages among Sheikhs, Sayyeds, Pathans and Mughals and others high status groups also take place. Beradariwise identification of Muslims population have not been conducted by the census authority of India except the 1901, census. According to the census of 1901 the Muslims were identified into numerous social group (i.e. biradaris) in the district of Bijnor is shown in Table no. 2.3⁴⁰.

**Table: 2.3 Biradariwise Distribution of Muslim Population in District
Bijnor According to 1901, Census**

Beradaris	Population	Percentage
Sayyeds	12,425	4.6
Sheikhs	59194	21.8
Mughals	10375	3.8
Pathans	11606	4.3
Julahas (Weavers)	56506	20.8
Mansooris (cotton-carder)	14827	5.5

Telis (oil pressure)	14992	4.4
Faqirs (Mendicants)	12098	4.6
Nais (Barbars)	10330	3.8
Darzi (Tailor)	11210	4.1
Jhujas (Turks)	3084	1.1
Others	20528	7.6

Sources: Census report of India, 1901 and District Gazetteer of Bijnor, 1908

Biradariwise distribution of Muslim population is shown in the above table that the total population of Muslim in 1901 was 2, 71,701 (34.84 percent). The highest group in population was of Sheikhs that constituted about 59,194 (21.8 percent). In occupational category, weavers constituted largest group of Muslim population. In the others, the Muslims identified large number of converted or Muslims at that time lived mostly at villages of the district and their members live of generation still reside mostly in the district. Under their traditional occupation, Mughal at that time were among the ruling castes to the groups, even then their strength was short in comparison to Sheikhs and Sayyeds. They were dominant in urban areas. Sheikhs were dominant in some villages and urban areas in the occupation. Under the Sultanates of Delhi, Pathans were found in strong position at these areas at large number of villages among Muslims.

In the district, apart from the high biradaris of Muslims, there were several occupational biradaris among Muslims. This occupational or hereditary guild system was an important factor towards the development of institution of

caste systems. This system is prevailed in all over world since its earliest days and continues still today.

The occupational castes of Bijnor include the converts from the Hindus. They adopt Mohammadan names. For examples, the caste of boating class converted and changed its name into "Mallah" the Arabic names, the tailors changed its name "Suji" into "Darzi" as an Arabic name. Similarly, the people of cotton-cleaner community were known as Dhunas, Dhuyneys in Bijnor district changed these names as called 'Naddaf' is an Arabic name. They were constituted about 14,827 persons out of total Muslim population in Bijnor district in 1901, but there is not any exact information of Mansoori population, since then found in district, while the numbers of Mansooris population have been increased year after year.

Besides Mansooris, there are groups by different biradaris in the district of Bijnor as shown in Table 2.3. These biradaris were settled in Bijnor and in all towns, villages of the district. Members of these biradaris give different versions about their ancestry and racial ethnicity. Some of them exaggerate about their origin and migration to the area, where as some sarcastically connects their live of generation to some most reputed Sufi-saint who at the earliest reached to India to propagate Islam. In Bijnor district there are some biradaris suffixes the title of the saint against their names like Bani Israila, Shamshi, Hashmi, Ansari, and the people of present study also used the title of Mansoori against their names with a reference to Khawaja Mansoor-al-Hallaj that he was a Sufi-saint, came to India. The people of the community become the followers to him (Sufi-saint) and now, it is known as a biradari among Muslim society.

According to 1901 census as shown in table 2.3, Mansooris represents 5.5 percent of total Muslim population of the district of Bijnor. As stated earlier this biradari group is identifiable in terms of their traditional occupation whose skills and training is transferred from one generation to the next through the process of socialization and learning. Though, economically this biradari is occupational category but more importantly it represents a sociological category which can be seen as status group arranged in a hierarchical order of biradaris in the local society. As stated, group exhibit certain standards of behaviour through the practice of endogamy, biradari leadership and internal differentiation.

The inter-relationship between different biradaris (occupational/ status categories) is maintained by a system of rituality and exchange of services. Often, jajmani relations give a typical structure to the network of the social relationship of these biradaris. Mansooris have certain distinct elements of their identity and social and cultural practices. With the passage of time particularly after independence, the process of induced and planned changes have also been affected the internal occupational structure and inter-biradari relationship of the community. Urbanization and extension of market forces has led to appreciable change in the structural arrangement and cultural characteristics of the different traditional occupational groups in India. Mansooris are also influenced by these changes. This study, therefore, propose to undertake a systematic and a scientific investigation into the internal life of Mansooris of Bijnor district.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bhatt.S.C.1998.The Encyclopedic: District Gazetteers of India, (Central Zone).New Dclhi: Gyan Publication, vol.6.
2. Nevill. H.R. 1908. *District Gazatteer of Bijnor*. Allahabad: Government Press., vol. XIV, p. 1
3. Varun, D.P. 1981. *Bijnor: District Gazetteer*. Lucknow: Government Press of Utter Pradesh. P. 1
4. Sitabani is a very famous temple. This temple was built up at the sight of "Bashta" a pargana of Bijnor Tehsile. It is assumed by local legend that (wife of Lord Rama), the purification of Sita had taken place at this place, so the temple constructed here and known by the name of Sitabani. (for reference; District Gazetteer of Bijnor.1908. Government Press. P. 159; Atkinson, E.T. 1981. *Statistical Descriptive and Historical account of Bijnor*, Allahabad. Govt. Press, vol. 5, p. 341.
5. Varun, D.P. 1981. Ibid p.1 (Raja Ben was a minor hero king of North India, in Mahabharat and Puranas. The district ascribes it foundations by his name. He never got any tax from his subjects because he raised a part of revenue by the sale of bijana means (Fans) manufactured by himself because of which the place obtained its present name, Bijnor. See District Gazetteer of Bijnor. 1908. p. 1: Atkinson, 1881, Ibid, p. 341.
6. Rowli is a village on the bank of the river Malin apart from eleven km from Bijnor city. (See Varun, D.P. 1981 Ibid. p. 19.)

7. Nevill, H.R. 1908. *Bijnor: A Gazetteer of District*. Allahabad: Government Press, p. 180
8. Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D. (ed). *The History and Culture of Indian People (Vedic Age)*, Vol. I, pp. 250-51, 297.
9. Ibid. p. 251.
10. Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D. (ed). *The History and Culture of the India People, Vol. II, (The Age of Imperial Unity)*, p. 11.
11. Mandawar is an ancient town of Bijnor district, and the place is as dominions of Prithviraj Chauhan ruler of Delhi, and in 1193, it was captured by Shahab-ud-din.
12. In early time all the country east of the Ganges was called Kuthar (Katihar) but when Sambhal and Badaun were made separate government (sarkars) by Muslims, this term appears to have been restricted by them to the country east of the Ramganga. See Memons S.M. Settlement Report of District Bareilly, 1872, p. 17 and Nevill, 1908. *District Gazetteer of Bijnor*. (Allahabad : 1908)
13. Habibullah. A.B.M. *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* and see Nevill, H.R. op cit, p. 182.
14. Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D. (ed). *The History and Culture of the Indian People*; vol. V, p. 50; Haig. Wolseley Lt Col. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p.53.
15. Ibid, p. p.134; Haig, Ibid, p.55.
16. Nevill, H.R. op cit p.162.

17. Husain, Iqbal. 1994. *The Ruhela Chieftaincies the Rise and Fall of Ruhella Power in India in the Eighteenth Century*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; p.6.
18. Husain, Iqbal. 1994. Ibid, p.16
19. Abul Fazal. *Ain-I-Akbari*, Vol. II (English train, by H.S. Jarret (Calcutta: 1949) pp. 294-297; Atkinson E.T. *Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of Bijnor*, (Allahabad, 1881), p. 24, Vol. 5.
20. Husain, Iqbal. 1994. op cit p.7.
21. Husain Iqbal. 1994. Ibid p.8
22. Nevill, H.R., 1908 op cit, p. 172
23. Husain, Iqbal, 1994. op cit pp. 38.
24. Nevill, H.R. op cit pp. 174-75
25. Nevill, H.R., Ibid, pp. 412-20, 426; Husain Iqbal, 1994, op cit pp. 16-17.
26. Aitchison, C.U. 1909. *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sandols Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*. Culcutta, Vol. I, p.2; Nevill, op cit, p. 178.
27. Nevill, H.R 1908. *A District Gazetteer of Bijnor*. Allahabad: Government Press; pp. 90-91; Vanun, D.P. 1981: Bijnor: District Gazetteer of UP. (Allahabad), pp. 1, 2, 3.
28. By Courtesy of District Information Centre, Bijnor; Nevill, H.R. Ibid. p. 2-3; Bhatt, S.C. 1998. *The Encyclopedic: District Gazetteers of India (central zone)* Vol. 6, N. Delhi, Gyan Publication, p. 528
29. Nevill, H.R. 1908, Ibid. pp. 4-6; District Information Center: Bijnor.

30. By Courtesy of District Information Center: Bijnor, see, District Gazetteer of Bijnor, 1908, p-5.
31. Bhatt, S.C 1998, op. cit. p.529; Varun, D.P. op. cit., p. 86-87
32. Bhatt, S.C 1998, op. cit. p.529; Nevill, H.R. 1908 op. cit. pp. 48-51
Atkinson, E.T. 1881, op cit pp. 266, 267, 268, 269.
33. Annual Report, District Central Cooperative Bank Limited, Bijor District, 1990-91, and Varun, D.P. 1981, p. 123; Bhatt, S.C. 1998, Ibid. p. 520
34. Nevill, H.R. 1908. op. cit., p. 88, 92.
35. Bhatt, S.C. 1998. *The Encyclopedic: District Gazetteers of India, (Central zone)* vol. 6, Uttar Pradesh. New Delhi: Gyan Publication, p. 533.
36. Atkinson, E.T. 1881. *Statistical Description and Historical Account of Bijnor*, Allahabad: Government Press, vol. 5, pp. 285-289.
37. Bhatt, S.C. 1998, op. cit. p.528.
38. Ahmad, Aijazuddin. 1996. *Muslims in India*, vol. IV, of Uttar Pradesh: Urban Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
39. Bhatt, S.C 1998, op. cit., p.501.
40. Nevill, H.R. 1908, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

Chapter III

Methodology

METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the procedures of research or techniques including description, explanation and justification of methods of data collection and handling. Further, methodology reflects the logic of scientific investigation that deals with the procedures for building up conceptual and logical knowledge base. Also, it is of a paramount importance in scientific inquiry as validity and reliability of the facts which primarily depend upon the system of investigation. The reliability and validity of the research findings in the social sciences depend very much on the soundness of methodology and as social facts do not simply lie around waiting to be picked up rather these are carved out of the continuous web of ongoing reality and as such, these must be observed within specific frame of reference, so that these can be measured and connected to other relevant facts. All this requires sound 'method' or 'ways' for the systematic conduct of a study. Resultantly the accuracy, exactness and significance of a study depend heavily upon the methodology used in the research investigation.

An important task of social scientists is to observe social phenomenon and to explain them by means of scientific theories. By theory is meant a set of interrelated proposition that account for phenomenon under study. In different sociological researches, theories are used to explain the relationship of observed facts. Positivism on which the inductive strategy is based and entitle ontological assumption about an ordered universe made up to this discrete and

observable fact. Social reality is viewed as consisting of a complex of causal relations between events. The structural-functional method is based on the fundamental assumption that society is a system of inter-dependence of various parts or sub-parts which tend to create a collective goal and order. In most of the early sociological researches, this method has been used to explain order and consensus in human social system.

From functionalist point of view, a community is a collective whole whose units function inter-dependently to maintain that whole. Deviance or departure from the assigned role of the unit may create problems of disorganization and anomie which is to be rectified and corrected by mutual adjustment and accommodation among the components units of the system. In Parsonian parlance AGIL is the basic determinant of social system through which it maintains its order and continuity. The four pre-requisites shall be identified and explained in course of the exploration of different aspects of social organization of the community under study.

Dialectical approach according to Marxist approach is based fundamentally on the assumption that society is based on opposition, contradiction and conflict. This conflict theory known as dialectical materialism explain the existing reality. Historical materialism explains the process of change. As a research methodology, application of dialectic or conflict does not seem relevant and applicable in the present study. It may be argued that functionalist approach is suitable in this study.

Society is a system in dynamic equilibrium of interacting members expressing their behaviour. How to explain this social order has been a concern of sociologists. From functionalist perspectives, it is functional pre-requisites of social system. While from Marxian perspective social order is seen as precarious but its existence is recognized. From ethnomethodologist point of view social life appears orderly but this order appears to exist due to everyday activities. In other words, “ethnomethodology looks at task of seeing, describing and explain order in the words in which people explaining order in the world in which they live” (Zimmerman and Wieder).¹ Understanding of the community life of people in terms of its order and change requires an ethnomethodological perspective.

In any study of anthropological nature, researcher has to be a keen observer of the social world, he intends to study. Observation is, therefore, the first and foremost method to collect information from the field of study. In the present study observation is both participant and quasi-participant. It will be discussed later on in the chapter under the techniques of data collections.

4.1 Research Design

A research design is the arrangement for collection and analysis of data in such a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose to economize it. Generally, research design means for setting up the research in this way as to derive systematic and logically sound conclusion among its various aims, one of the most important is to decide the data to be collected the sample to be selected and the manner in which the collected data to be

organized. And this is all for the purpose of providing a conclusive answer to the problem of the propose research as well as to economized research. According to F.N. Kerlinger, “it is the plan, structure and strategy of the investigation conceived so as to obtained answer to the research question and control variances.”

As the nature of researches differs in terms of purposes, so designing of the research can not be uniform. Thus, research design may be incorporated into various ways: some researches may be aimed at exploring and describing the phenomena while others may involve a diagnostic and experimental objective. Therefore, the exploratory, descriptive, diagnostic and experimental researches are the classification of research design. These are explained as follows:

- (i) An exploratory research is mainly concerned with gaining familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to generate data or to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypothesis.
- (ii) The descriptive studies aim at portraying the characteristics of a particular situation or group or individual (with or without specific initial hypothesis about the nature of these characteristics of studies).
- (iii) Diagnostic study involves the purpose of determining the frequency with which something is occur or with which it is associated with something else (usually but not necessarily with a specific initial hypothesis).

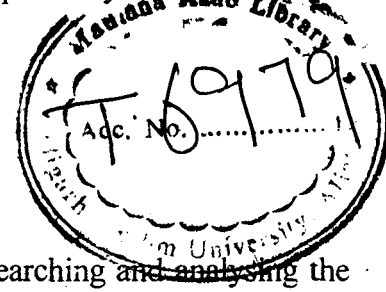
- (iv) The purpose of experiment study is to test a hypothesis of a causal relationship between variables.²

An exploratory study would always be a descriptive while descriptive study may not be necessarily is exploratory. It is earlier, we have been pointed out that this study is broadly concerned with exploring the socio-historical heritage of Mansoonri community and find out the pace and direction of change, if any in this community in a given locality. Being a study of a community which has hitherto remained unexplored, it may be called an exploratory and a descriptive study for which case study method is preferred.

4.2. Case Study Method

This is a method of research, investigation, searching and analysing the life of a unit. The social unit is to be a person, a family, an institution, an individual or a community, is known as a case study method. It is a way of organising social data so as to preserve the unitary character of social object which being studied. Expressed some what differently, it is an approach which views any social unit as a whole.

Sociologists and social anthropologists used case study method with a view of describing “qualitative” aspects of social life which they thought can not be gathered information merely by statistical methods. This method is thought to be useful in probing many facts of social units. In order to describe the significant characteristics of a whole unit, some cases are selected with the assumption that they represent the whole unit. Cases are constructed either with the help of life, historical documents, such as personal diaries, letters and



METHODOLOGICAL PLAN / DIAGRAM

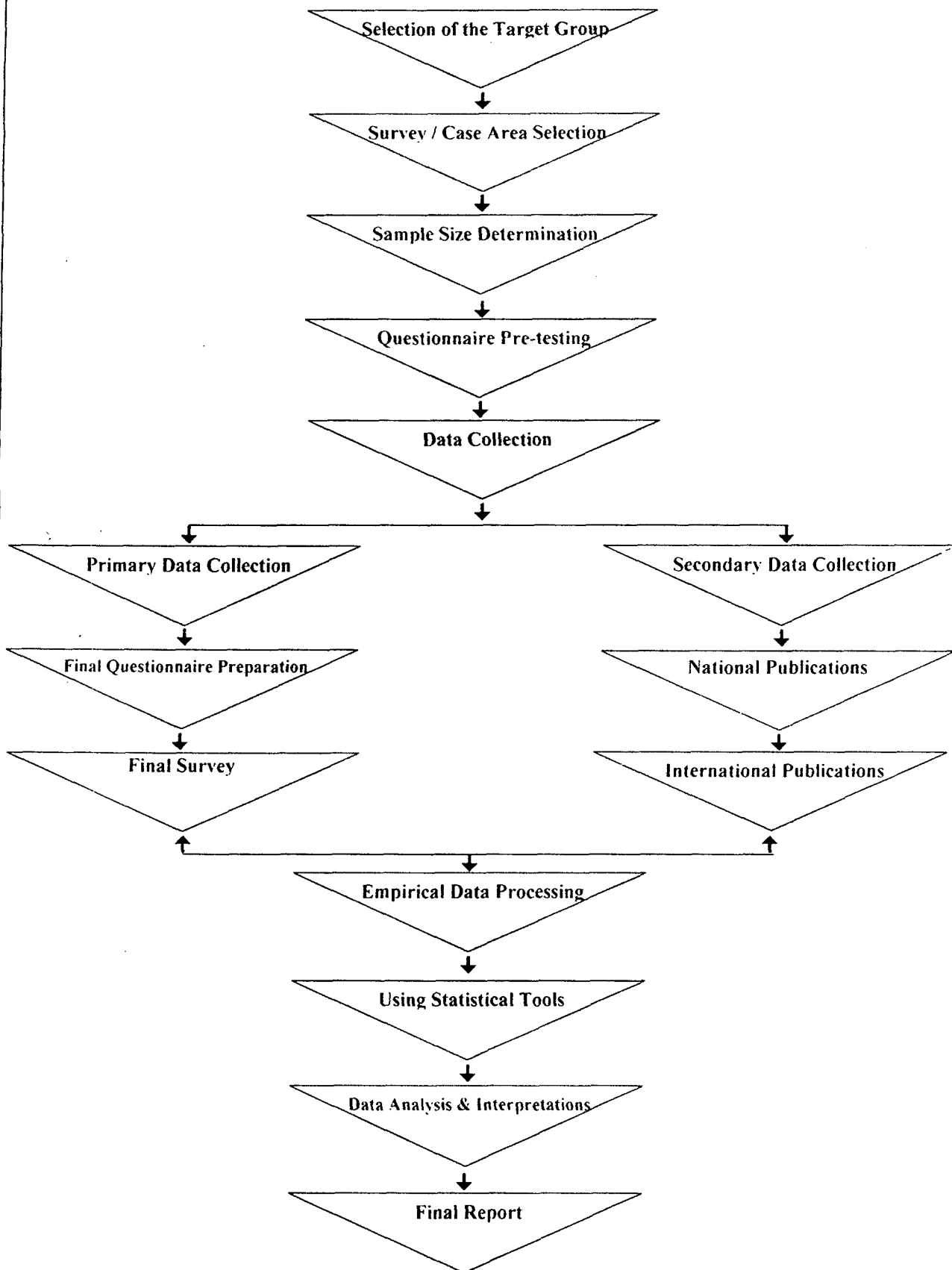


Fig: Methodological Diagram

autobiographies or by making genealogical charts, sharing experiences with individuals being studied, conducting personal interviews and using relevance literature and the ballads are the other techniques which are used for portraying the qualitative significant features of the unit being studied.³

In sociological researches of ethnographic nature, case study is considered a good method, although its limitation can also be not ignored. Thus, various techniques such as sampling, questionnaire, statistical records etc are being fruitful to supplement, substantiate and verify information gained through the case study method. Besides, some case studies, participant observation, life histories not merely important but also the interview schedule technique has been used to elicit the information from a group of the respondents selected through a sampling technique from the universe of the study.

4.3 Techniques of Data Collection

(i) Participant observation:

Observation is an integral part of any scientific enquiry. Indeed, science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for final validation.⁴ Observation as a scientific tool for researcher; it serves a formulated research purpose and is considered the most modern technique of the research in sociological inquiry. Observation is a primary research instrument which would seem to be observing human intelligence, human behaviour trying to make a sense out of human experience. Observation technique may be used by the researcher to explore the historical reality of the

community and gain deeper insight into the research problems for which provided a basis for the development of hypothesis. This technique is also a primary method of data collection in descriptive studies and even in experimental studies design for testing a causal hypothesis.⁵

Observation is incorporated into different types: – simple observation: uncontrolled, participant and non-participant observation. The types of observational techniques to be chosen in a particular study which depends upon the nature of the study. In exploratory study, the observational procedure is most likely to be relatively unstructured because the observer is also more likely to participate in the group activity. The researcher may be a participant or even a non-participant observer of the phenomenon depends on the nature of phenomena. And in descriptive studies, the observational procedures are more likely to be relatively structured and involve a minimum of participation in the part of observer. However, it should be noted that the degree of structured and degree of the participation need not vary together. Thus, in a particular research activity, it may be the demand of both techniques.

Participant observation with a highly structured observational instrument used in the present study because this technique is more useful to find out the socio-historical moorings of the community. Thus, every researcher does observe the unit being studied in one way or the other. Moreover, exploratory researches are not possible without participating in the life of the people being studied or watching them closely. It has already been pointed out that an exploratory study would always be a descriptive while descriptive study may

not necessarily be exploratory. For it the researcher is preferred to use the participant observation technique. Thus, the participant observation helps researcher to gathered sufficient information before starting to investigate according to specific problems formulated. It also serves the purpose of pragmatic study. Accordingly, we start our enquiring with uncontrolled participant observation.

While employing participant observation technique, generally, a researcher faces two kinds of problems. One is the problem of accessibility and acceptability among the people being observed. If the researcher is accepted by the people, the second problem creates. It relates with the possibility of influencing the behaviors of the people by the presence of stranger that is the investigator. Expressed somewhat differently the people may become conscious in expression the real information needed by a researcher/ investigator. In order to overcome to these problems researcher often did not disclose his identity and purpose. Fortunately, such a problem was not face by this researcher in the field due to the fact that he belongs to the field of the study under we take notes of each and every aspects of life. We also record life histories of some people. This exercise enriches our data as well as helps us in identifying major aspects related with social and economic structure of Mansooris as well as changes are taken place with change of time.

No matter how objective, we are one may have doubt in the objectivity in this research, firstly due to researcher being “insider” and secondly on account of certain problem, associated with the technique of participant

observation. And, therefore researcher employed some quantifiable techniques of researches in order to substantiate our observations as well as to make the study verifiable.

(ii) Interview Schedule:

To get information from the respondents other techniques like interview, schedule and questionnaire are quite popular use in social science researches. In the present research, questionnaire as a technique is not found suitable due to the nature of the respondents. Personal interview (unstructured open-ended question) is also not feasible due to the huge number of respondents under the study. However, a combination of interview and schedule is considered more scientific and practical for this study and therefore a schedule consisting of various types of questions pertaining different dimensions of the research problem has been prepared to administer with selected respondents. It is a form of structured interview through already drawn questions asked in face to face situation with the selected respondents of sample. The schedule incorporate questions pertaining from the family, marriage, divorce, education, economic and occupational structure, polity and religious and ritual aspects of Mansoori community.

The interview was conducted individually and in free time of the respondents. Though the questions were formulated in English, they were explained and classified into the language of the people (i.e., the respondents). Respondents were encouraged to provide as much more information as they desire. No interventions were made during the time of interview except at the

time of when the respondents seem to have some problem either in understanding the questions or formulating the answers. The information, researcher has gathered through interview are tabulated and on the other hand some are simply describes.

(iii) Universe and sample selected

The method of selecting for the study, a portion of the 'Universe' with a view to drawing conclusions about the 'Universe' or 'population' is known as sampling method.⁶ This method is day to day experience testifies to the fact that, by and large, it is possible to make some kind of general statement about the 'Universe' by observing only a few items or elements i.e. a sample drawn therefrom. Thus, a sample is a smaller representation of a larger whole. It is necessary to clarify the terminology used as 'Universe' and 'population' so that we can select a sample more easily. A Universe may be said to be a collection of things or people that one would like to say his sample was selected from whereas population is used in sampling statistics in such a manner that is constituted of all the individuals, things, events, documents, or observations etc belonging to a designed category characterizing specific attributes which a particular study should principally covered. In this way the term population is not necessarily used to similar with a population of a community, or a state.⁷

A sampling plan for a study is devised largely taking into view the level of accuracy and confidence in findings of the study but not defining for meaning of it. The design of the sampling divided into various types such as simple random sampling or systematic random sampling, stratified sampling,

proportionate sampling, quota sampling, cluster sampling etc. However, these kinds of methods are used on the basis of the sample selection of study in which is useful for the study.

The universe of the present study is a Mansoori community of the district of Bijnor. The area of the field study divided into Tehsilwise for the selection of the sample. There are four Tehsile in Bijnor district like, Najibad, Bijnor itself, Dhampur and Nagina. In order to select the size of a sample, the district census reports and official records of the Municipal Board were consulted by the researcher but separate data regarding the total number of Mansooris households was not available. The researcher obtained the sample on the basis of personal investigation regarding the total number of Mansooris population in each town and village of every Tehsile. This is primary investigation to collect the information about the total number of Mansooris households with the help of political activities and responsible persons of the biradari or Mukhias (leaders of the biradari) in every town and village of the district. It is also informed that the Mansooris are found in almost every village and town of the district. They constituted the third major community next to Ansaris and Quereshis among Muslims in Bijnor district. The information is gathered from where the Mansooris households situated in town and village of the Tehsiles in Bijnor district. Therefore, the concentration of the researcher is to drawn the sample from where Mansooris are more in population in these Tehsiles of the district.

Systematic random sampling method is used for selecting the representative of sample (respondents). The information is gathered with the help of political activists and responsible persons of the biradari of respective towns and villages for identifying Mansooris households by the researcher. Identified Mansooris households were numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on. After this process, we randomly selected first Mansooris household and then 10th, 20th, 30th, 40th and so on till the researcher got approximately 10 percent sample of the total number of registered households. The names of the town and village, total number of households, draw the sample and percentage of drawn sample are set out in table 4.1

Table 3.1 Size of Sample Drawn

S.No.	Name of Places	Total No. of Mansoori households	Sample drawn	Percentage
1.	Noorpur	419	42	9.97
2.	Shanpur	362	33	9.11
3.	Bijnor	323	30	9.96
4.	Kotwali Dehat	281	27	9.60
5.	Najibabad	313	29	9.26
6.	Dhampur	255	25	9.80
7.	Mubarakpur	143	14	9.79
8.	Nehtour/Kiratpur	267	26	9.73
9.	Nagina	153	15	9.80
10.	Seohara	148	14	9.45
Total		2664	255	96.14

Out of 2664 households, the researcher has selected 255 households randomly which is consisting about 9.6 percent of the total number of households. Every household whether joint or nuclear was considered as one unit and every head of the household is, then approached for interview. In case, if a house is headed by a widow, the nearest male relatives of the widow are approached for interview. Most of the respondents in the sample were from the age of 40 years to above 50 years of age.

In this way, the present study is based on the data collected through participant observation, interview schedule, sampling methods besides of these techniques it containing the data gathered from historical statistical and census records etc.

4.4 Problems Faced in the Field Work

Before describing the problems which the researcher faced at the time of the field work, it should be necessary to the researcher prefer to answer the most important question which may be strike in the mind of any reader. The question is why did we select Mansooris of Bijnor district for our study? There are some important reasons of it. One was the reason of exploring Mansooris as a Muslim community which was hitherto remained unexplored. The study of a community was think to be more essential for generating empirical data, understanding Indian Muslims at micro-level as well as significant for the guidance as a model to the unexplored communities. It is may be important for filling up research gap in the literature of Indian sociology. Two according to

the statistical records that Mansooris are more backward and relatively third largest group among Muslims of district Bijnor and the researcher is also belong to the Mansoori community so it become a choice of the researcher for the study of Mansooris. Three, the researcher was well acquainted with the towns and villages as well as community. Thus, keeping in mind the problems which a researcher often faces in a new place the researcher preferred to the study of Mansooris in the district of Bijnor.

Being as an insider and having close connection with many members, researcher faced the problem of not getting real information (i.e. exact data) related with economic aspects. Most of the respondents especially belong to higher income and even the group seemed to as reluctant in providing exact figure of their annual income, means of income. Some of them who directly told to researcher did not to ask such question. In these cases, the researcher took the help by common personal friend or neighbouring of the respondents after taking into confidence. Though, they helped to the researcher to a very great extent, it can not be claim exactness in economic data of the present study except of their being representative. Some of the respondents did not want to disclose it due to the fear of income tax's raids. So assured to them and have taken re-interviewed. Some respondents were hard and rudely rebuffed the researcher when he requested. It is, therefore, become necessary to local some responsible persons of the community who could help in such matter and could make them cooperate.

Another problem faced by the researcher was constant interference of other members of the family or neighbours, who would be only too eager to answer the questions. Some times the respondent, who has already been interviewed, would accompany another to the neighbour's (next respondent) house and noisily interfere with the interviewer's responses.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Zimmerman, D.H. and Wieder, D.L. 1971. *Ethnomethodology and the Problem of Social Order* in Douglas.
2. Wilkinson, T.S. and Bhandarkar, P.L. 2000. *Methodology and Techniques of Social Research*. New Delhi: Himalya publishing House, reprinted. 2002, p. 102.
3. Goode, William J. and Hatt, Paul K. 1981. *Methods in Social Research*. Singapore: McGraw Hill Book Company. P. 314
4. Ibid, p. 119.
5. Ibid, p. 120.
6. Wilkinson, T.S. and Bhandarkar, P.L. 2000 op cit. P. 265
7. Ibid, p. 266.

Chapter IV

*Mansoori Community:
A Profile*

MANSOORI COMMUNITY: A PROFILE

3.1. Demographic Distribution

Under the National Project Report entitled the “People of India”, author identified numerous Muslim communities in Uttar Pradesh during 1987-88. Mansoori is one of such several communities. According to 1911 census the population of Mansooris constituted about 48,000 persons in the Central Provinces and Berar.¹ Though the members of this community are known by different names in different regions in India but in accordance with their traditional occupation called as cotton-carders. The 1931 Census of India shows that the people of Mansoori community are distributed into various castes and tribal origins but belong to the same category of traditional occupation. The community is an endogamous group among Muslims. According to the 1931 census the total population of Mansoori community mainly reported from the United Provinces, Bombay, Central India, Rajputana, North-West Frontier etc. constituted about 2,65,254 persons and as an occupational community among Muslims who are traditionally the cotton-carders.²

There are important socio-cultural and economic characteristic features of Mansoori community. They perform the work of cotton- thrashing and cotton- carding and also make it suitable for various purposes of domestic uses. The members of this community are divided into several sub-groups which are identifiable in terms of their name, location and social practices. Crooks made

a commendable effort to locate the several communities in Uttar Pradesh in his book “The Tribes and Caste of North-West Provinces and Ouadh (1896)”. According to 1891 census district-wise population of this community in Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) was as follows:

Table 4.1
Districtwise Distribution of Dhuneys (Mansooris) in Uttar Pradesh
according to 1891 Census

Districts	Mansoori	Others	Total
Bulandshar	–	1,500	1,500
Aligarh	1,330	5,041	6,371
Mathura	–	64	64
Agra	11	399	410
Farrukhabad	1	7,329	7,320
Mainpur	–	3,263	3,263
Etawah	51	3,737	3,788
Etah	–	4,525	4,525
Bareilly	1,520	11,708	13,228
Bijnor	-	11,056	11,056
Budaun	44	1,808	1,852
Moradabad	–	7,862	7,862
Shahjahanpur	118	8,589	8,707
Pilibhit	15	5,932	5,847
Cawanpur (Kanpur)	126	8,383	8,509
Fatehpur	1,639	3,756	5,395
Banda	2,681	4,724	7,405
Hamirpur	–	8,341	8,341
Allahabad	2,238	15841	18079
Jhansi	228	4374	4602
Jalaun	70	2894	2964
Lalitpur	–	1116	1116

Benares (Banaras)	703	4553	5256
Mirzapur	372	6003	6375
Janupur (Jaunpur)	11710	2049	13759
Ghazipur	2055	2318	4373
Ballia	608	3042	3650
Gorakhpur	30520	9949	40469
Basti	28559	1024	29583
Azamgarh	2256	17428	19684
Tarai	–	1745	1745
Lucknow	1460	4186	5646
Unao	566	7344	7910
Rai Bareli	115	9035	9150
Sitapur	5845	7749	13594
Hardoi	50	10708	10758
Kheri	511	1127	11638
Faizabad	1	12787	12788
Gonda	699	12264	16963
Bahraich	1096	15037	16133
Sultanpur	–	7909	7909
Partapbgarh	258	7369	7627
Barabanki	1064	13186	14250
TOTAL	98,520	303,497	401,987

Source: Census of India, 1891

Tribes and Castes of North West provinces and Ouadh 1896 by William, C. Crooks

Table 3.1 indicates that the total population of this community constitute about 4, 01,987 persons in various districts of Uttar Pradesh in 1891, out of it, 98,520 (24.51 percent) are in the Mansoori category, while 3, 03,467 are constituted into “others” groups. The table does not provide the ethnographic figures of Mansooris in district Rampur of the state. In this way, the ethnographic distribution indicates that they were divided into “Mansooris” and “others” categories. Crooks did not explain the “Others” in which he included different groups of this community. This category constitutes the largest majority of the people who performed the occupation of cotton-carding in the districts of Uttar Pradesh. However, Crooks identified this community into two distinct groups but did not clarified it and generally understand as Dhuneys (cotton-carders) in regional language.

The table indicates that the majority of Mansoori community lived in the districts of eastern region like Gorakhpur, Basti; Azamgarh, Allahabad, Gonda and Bahraich. In all these districts, the number of Mansoori population constituted the highest cotton-carders groups. Coming to the district of Bijnor, we find that there is no mentioned of Mansooris in 1891 census. However, there is a predominance of the “others” in the district. The field reality of the area gives us to understand that several groups performing the jobs of cotton-cleaning or thrashing or cotton-cardening in the district claim themselves as Mansooris. Thus, the people of “others” groups constitute about 11056 (i.e. 2.8 percent) in the district of Bijnor in 1891 census. Therefore, the researcher is

unable to indicate the exact number of Mansoori community in the district of Bijnor.

The significant questions that arise to our mind are as to who are these cotton-carders group and from which part of Indian population (Hindus/other tribes), they have joined this community and have started claiming to be Mansoori. Did they come from outside India? Is it M.N. Srinivas's concept of Sankritization (Islamisation for low status Muslim category) or conversion from local Hindu castes? If, they were Hindus and converted into Islam, when did they convert into this community?

The correct answer of these questions is not found in any historical records that from which castes or tribes of the Hindus people converted into this community. Even, the historical facts of the area do not subscribe to the second view i.e. the conversion model within the last one century. Therefore, the first explanation in terms of Sanskritization or Islamization, seems convincing. Interaction of this researcher with the field reality says that there is a predominance understanding among the members of this community that they have Islamised their life style and ritual practices to assume the status of Mansoori from the category of "others". This indicates a social movement on status scale on the lines of the great tradition.

Sociologists and social anthropologists and even British ethnographers described that the members of Mansoori community are converted from the lower castes of the Hindus. However, some of them argued in the light of historical evidence that they came from outside India. There is an ambiguity

among them. One aged respondent informed “we came from outside India with Khawaja Mansoor-al-Hallaj who came to India during Ghorian conquest”. Thus, the origin of this community is from outside of India. Other respondent said that the people of Mansoori community came from Egypt where there was a Mansoor city of more cotton production. The word Mansoori used for this community and members of this community performed the occupation of cotton-cleaning. While another respondent states that they converted from lower castes of Hindus at the time Muslims rule in India due to Sufi practices of Khawaja Mansoor-al-Hallaj, who used to live with the group of cotton-carders.

Whatever may be the reality and reasons about the origin of the community but the fact is that the members of Mansoori community constitute a large group among Muslim society. They were known by varying origin, customs, and even different names in different regions. The data in above table indicate that this was a largest community among Muslims before independence of India in Uttar Pradesh.

It is commonly perceived that Mansooris of Bijnor district constitute the third largest community among Muslims after Ansaris and Qureshis. They are widely distributed in the district both in rural as well as urban areas. Noorpur is a town area and a block of Bijnor Tehsil, Shanpur a town area in Najababad Tehsil, Mubarakpur a village in Bijnor Tehsil and Binjor city itself accommodates population of this community. Though the primary occupation of Mansooris is cotton-carding, many of them have shifted into other

occupations and economic activities. However, it is difficult to get a detail as major sources of population records such as district gazetteer and other revenue/administrative records do not mentioned the demographic distribution of different communities of the district. The people those who associated with the occupation of cotton-cleaning/carding in the district Bijnor are known by the name of Bahna in the district of Bijnor. They were a kin group of weavers (Ansaris) community. Since the occupation of this community goes in hand to hand with weavers.³ However, the people of Mansoori community are locally known by the names of dhuneys, dhunia and Naddaf in Bijnor district.

During the British period Mansoori community constituted the largest group among Muslims in Uttar Pradesh. It had influenced the society at both social as well as economic levels. Though the people of Mansoori community were backward and placed at the lower stratum among Muslims in the society, yet some of them had influential role in administrative authority and acquisition of socio-economic as well as political dominance through the possession of land and acquiring western education. This community was the first category of the people who made cotton suitable through the process of ginning, cotton-carding, thrashing and prepared quilts, mattresses, and pillows etc. during the winter season. This soft cotton was also used for making readymade garments, threading, and spinning and to prepare the cloths in the Mills. Thus, due to their skilled work of cotton, they established the network of social relationship with artisan classes as well as other communities in Indian society.

This is commonly observed that Mansooris are not only engaged with their traditional occupation but they also carry out other economic activities skilled or unskilled such as labourers in agriculture and other related works in rural economy to substantiate their income. In urban areas they were mostly involved in non-agricultural economic activities. Since the major traditional occupation of the community is cotton-carding, thrashing, ginning, their engagement is mostly seasonal particularly during winter seasons. In traditional local economy of India, there are some occupational communities who along with their ancestral occupation, also engaged in other local occupations depending on the individual need and availability of economic engagement. Since the very nature of the job of the Mansoori community is not perennial in nature, the participation of the members of this community into the facet of local economy is a natural characteristic of both the community and the local society. Thus, economic dimension of this community leads to holism in local economy which is characterized by interdependent of groups and communities. Therefore, the self-sufficiency of local economy is maintained but at the cost of development and growth of those groups which do not have the ownership of the primary means of production i.e. land in agrarian society. Mansooris and some other non-agricultural but occupational categories in rural areas find it feasible for urban migration. The non-ownership of land, function both as a limiting as well as a promoting factors for the members of this community to migrate to urban areas for better economic prospects. Thus, the push factors of rural to urban migration become operative. This is more so in view of the

mechanization of Indian agriculture particularly after independence, green revolution and land reform.

As mentioned earlier that exact size of this community in the district of Bijnor is difficult to obtain through official and historical document as community wise enumeration of population is not conducted. However, non-official but reasonable and reliable information about population of the community is available through election data. In a democratic polity of Indian type, caste and communities are important factors and the candidate contesting different elections for parliamentary legislative council, municipal board or gram-panchayat, there is an open secret that a candidate is filled by the different political parties in terms of their size in the population. In the present study local political leadership of the community informed the researcher that approximate number of Mansoori community in the district of Bijnor is more than one lakh.

3.2 Socio – Cultural Background

We have already pointed out that Mansoori is an occupationally backward community among Muslims society. It is believed that the community came into existence by the conversion from the Hindu religion into Islam. As like other Indian Muslim communities which are placed in ajlaf category due to the conversion into Islam, Mansoori community is also placed at the lower position in the social hierarchy and even in ajlaf category placed below the rank than Ansaris and Qureshi etc. There are some historical evidences documented about the conversion of the Mansoori community.

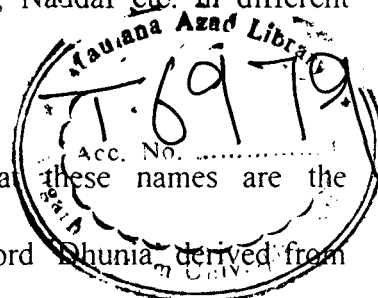
Sociologists and social anthropologists also emphasized that the communities of ajlaf category converted from the lower castes of Hindu society. In ashraf included the four fold divisions of Sayyed, Sheiks, Mughals and Pathans. They came from outside India while in ajlaf category, the people converted from different occupational castes of Hindus into Islam. Muslims whom they called 'ajlaf' (i.e. coarse rabble) included the functional groups such as weavers, (Ansaris), cotton-carders (Mansooris), oil pressers, (Telis), barbers (Nais), and tailors (Darzi), as well as converts of originally humble castes (Levey, 1957. p.73).⁴ Other scholars also accepted such form of divisions of Muslims biradaris as conversion from Hindus (Karim, 1959; Ansari, 1960; Ahmad. 1962).⁵ Similar characteristics of the Muslims of India who are ajlaf known as non-ashraf considered converted from the Hindus castes (Zarina Ahmad 1962:32).⁶ Imtiaz Ahmad also says that the communities of ajlaf category converted from lower castes of Hindu society.⁷ The people of cotton-carders belong to the ajlaf category, so they are considered converted from Hindu society but from which castes and tribes, they have embraced Islam did not mentioned by the sociologists and social anthropologists. According to their traditional occupation, it is considered as a lower community in the society. It is also a fact that this community belonged to both Muslims as well as Hindus faith. There were numerous groups identified among Muslims and Hindus whose primary occupation was to remove seeds from cotton, thrashing of the cotton, reeling, ginning and cleaning and carding of the cotton particularly they were made it suitable for the making of quilts, mattresses, pillows and other useable domestic articles during the winter season. Mansooris constituted one

of the most important occupational or serving communities at the time of medieval and colonial period in India. Presently, numerous tribes and castes with varying different origins and customs have adopted the common name called of “Mansoori”.

In terms of different source materials, this community is known by the different names such as ‘Dhuniyas’; Dhunas’, ‘Bahna’, ‘Pinjari/Penja’; ‘Dudekula’, Panchu kotti, ‘Dhun Teli’; ‘Multani’, Naddaf etc. in different regions all over India.

The etymological hypothesis provides that these names are the convenient starting point. It is observed that the word ‘Dhunna’ derived from Hindi word ‘Dhunna’ means “card” and from the Sanskrit word ‘Dhu’ means “to agitate” the employed meaning of the word is cotton-carding caste.⁸ The word Bahna is derived from Sanskrit word ‘viz.’ means “seed” the man who is properly removes the cotton seed from fibres.⁹ katera from ‘Katna’ means “to spin”, kandra from Sanskrit word “Karsha” means dragging.¹⁰ These words are the mixture of Hindi and Sanskrit words. These explanations seem to be fanciful and imaginative as they do not have grounding in some historical context.

The word Pinjara has derived from Pinjan or Pinjala used for cotton-carder’s bow.¹¹ William C. Crooks says that if the people of this community belong to Mohammadan and a pedant speaker are called “Naddaf”. The word ‘Naddaf’ is derived from an Arabic word means “separator”.¹² While making the ethnographic notes on Pinjara/Pinjari in southern India, Thurston (1909)¹³



states that the people belong to Pinjara category is an exogamous sept of Devanga and is a synonym of Dudekula and it is also recorded as Laddaf and Nurbash. All these names are recorded when the census of India taking exercises and are found to be the corrupted forms of “Naddaf” the people who are cotton-dressers or carders¹⁴. In Telgu, the regional language of the state of Andhra Pradesh, the word Dudekula derived from ‘Dude’ means “cotton” and ‘ekuta’ means “cleaning”. Hence, the people who are associated with the occupation of cotton-cleaning are called by regional name of Dudekula in Andhra Pradesh. The employed meaning of the word is cotton-cleaners who made quilts, mattresses in the state. They are described as a Mohammedan caste of cotton-cleaners, rope and tape makers recorded by Thurston (1909).¹⁵ He also quoted that the people of Dudekula are said to be converted from Hinduism into Islam. Thus, the people of Mansoori community are also known by the name of Dudekula in Andhra Pradesh. The statement related to conversion is supported by the narration that the members of Dudekula are the descendents of those Hindus who got converted into Islam by the Muslim Sufi saint, Bava Faqraddin. He was the King of Seistan in Persia before he become a Sufi saint but later on became as an Islamic religious mendicant. He became a disciple of Sufi saint, Tabri Alam Pasha after entering into Indian state, Tamil Nadu. Bava Faqraddin had some miracle power when he admitted into the holy order of Sufism. He reached at Penukonda place and started the practices of sufism near the important Hindu Temple of Gangamma in Tamil Nadu. Where the idea of starting Sufism practices near the Temple enraged the Hindus. It is not needed to go into the history of this pattern but the fact remains that after

seeing a miracle power of Bava Faqrudhin, the king of Tamil Nadu was impressed and provided the land to him for the Mosque at the place of temple. With this, it is said that large number of Hindus embraced Islam. They were the people who are now considered to the Dudekula (cotton-cleaners).¹⁶ Thurston also states that the people of Dudekula are considered to be the progeny of invading Muslim soldiers and the local women.¹⁷ This statement is also supported by Rahim (1971) who says that there were Muslim settlements in south India before the advent of Islamic rule in India. Because the Arab traders who visited India for the purpose of trading but later on they settled after marrying with the local women.¹⁸ Thus, it is believed that the Dudekulas are Muslim and also said to be the progeny of this in the area.

Describing about the people of Muslim pinjaris, Enthoven (1922)¹⁹ states that they were converted from Hindu Pinjaris by Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor of India. Ibbetson (1916)²⁰ also says that Pinjaras are cotton-carders, who are often called by the name of Pumba, Dhunia and Naddaf in the cities. According to their oral tradition, they claim that Pinjaras were converted from Hinduism into Islam approximately about five hundred years ago but they did not reveal the causes and circumstances of this conversion.

Bahnas constituted the people of cotton-carder groups as mentioned about it. It is said that the Bahnas are mainly derived from the caste of Telis (oil pressers). Sir Dr. Ibbetson said in his study of Punjab castes, that the penja (i.e. cotton scutcher) is an occupational name which applied to Telis who followed this occupation of cotton-carding and that the Penja, Qasai and Teli

are all the same caste. The Telis were an enterprising community of very low socio-economic status and therefore, they are inclined towards giving up their occupation and adopted the occupation of Bahna and changed their religious faith in the hope of improving their social status.²¹

The people of cotton-cleaners (i.e. Mansoori) community are also known by the name of Panchu Kotti in Tamil Nadu. Panchu means “cotton”, Kotti means “to beat” and the employed meaning of the word is cotton-cleaners. Beating the cotton by using a rod or machine like a bowstring for removing seeds²² is known from the Lexicon. The members of the community are also recollected that they belong to Andhra Pradesh. It is believed that they were employed by the Nawabs of Arcot in 18th century from Andhra Pradesh. There is no historical reference to say about the nativity of this community. They are not referred by eminent European authors like Edward Thurston²³. They are also not mentioned in district Gazetteers of Tamil Nadu state

Thus, the above mentioned historical records indicate that the people of cotton-carders community are converts from the Hindu castes of low ranking and they were known by different names due to the conversion from different castes and tribes into Islam. Though the conversion of cotton-carders is documented in some historical records, yet there is an ambiguity about real facts about them. Because some ethnographical notes indicate that the people of this community were originally the followers of Islamic principles.

However, in his study of Muslim communities in Gujrat, Misra states that the people of this community were originally known as pinjara because of

their traditional occupation. It is also said that about 400-500 years ago, they were Hindus but later have embraced Islam at the time of Muslim invaders came to India.²⁴ But in Gujrat, the Pinjaras have subdivisions into Sathi Pinjara and Multani Pinjara and each Pinjara sub-group is further divided into different clans. The internal divisions are found in the structure of Pinjara community in Gujrat.²⁵

The historical evidence about the cotton-carder's bow also indicates that this community existed since a long time as a Mohammedan caste. Habib writes that the instrument of cotton carders bow was introduced into India at the time of Muslim invasion. In Islamic world, the presence of the bow during the 11th century was firmly found in the verses of the Persian poet Asir'uddin Akhsikati.²⁶ It is also said that there was no any evidence traced about the cotton-carder's bow in India before the Muslim invasion. Thus, it may be assumed that the people of this community came to India with invaders as Mohammedan cotton carders.

The primary occupation of Mansooris was cotton-carding as the main source of their income and livelihood irrespective of their different names in different regions all over India. Due to their lower social status in Muslim society, presently the people of this community are becoming conscious about their social upliftment. They, collectively, come together under the umbrella of single term 'Mansoori' and use Mansoori title with their names as a surname. They have also improved their socio-cultural status in social order and claim themselves equal to Sheikh but major Muslim groups of ashraf category

considered them inferior to them and place at the lower rank in Muslim society.²⁷ In the present thesis, therefore, the word Mansoori will be used to describe a particular occupational category of cotton-carders with reference to its social structure and dynamics of change.

The word “Mansoori” claims its origin with the reference to the famous Sufi saint “Khawaja Mansoor-al-Hallaj (857-922 A.D.) as an Arabic speaking mystic theologian.²⁸ It is said that Mansoor-al-Hallaj was the grandson of a Gabr and descendant of Abu Ayyub, the companion of Prophet Mohammad²⁹. Father of Mansoor-al-Hallaj was probably a wool carder who left Tur for textile region, a town founded by Arabs, with a predominantly Sunni-Hanbali population. The whole population of this community considered Mansoor-al-Hallaj as their descendent.³⁰ Misra also pointed out that Mansoori community is an eponym after the culture hero namely Mansoor-al-Hallaj.³¹

Crooks, however has also indicated that the Dhuneys (i.e. cotton-carders) is one of the main sub-caste, Mansooris who have taken their name from Khawaja Mansoor as said earlier but he stated that Khawja Mansoor was a tribal Sufi saint introducing the pantheistic element in Islam. He also said that the information in detail is not available, only known as ‘Faqir’ and he had the power of miracle. There is also not any documentary evidence in the literature about Khawaja Mansoor but the opinion about the saint is that he was a native of Constantinople. Along with Muslim invaders, he came to India and lived with the people of Dhuniyas (cotton-carders), who belonged to Sunni sect of Islam. Though, the Dhuniyas are followers of Islamic principles, most of the

customs and traditions among them are performed on the pattern of Hindu rituals of the lower castes of social hierarchy.³²

Irfan Habib states that NurTurk in 1236 A.D. was a mystic of Delhi, living on the earnings of his slave, who was a cotton carder by occupation. Another instance about the existence of the community is that the mother of Sheikh Nizamudin brought raw cotton and gave it to a cotton-carder (Naddaf) to be cleaned.³³ So, the Mansooris lived as a group of occupational community during the medieval India. They were employed in the court of emperor due to their technical skill of cotton-carding. Thus, this community existed since a very long time in India.

The 1891 census of India report lays down hundred fifty branches among Muslim Dhuniyes (Mansooris) all over the country. Their famous branches in the local terms are famous by the names like the 'Ajudhyabarsi'; 'Audhiya' Bahraichi', 'Baksariay', 'Gangapari', 'Mathuriya' 'Purabiya' etc. Some of the cotton carders have adopted the name of well known castes or sects such as. 'Baheliya', 'Banjara' 'Bargujar', 'Banya', 'Chauhan', 'Dhangar', 'Gaur', 'Gorakhi', 'Gujar', 'Kharebindi', 'Madari', 'Mukeri', '**Naddaf**', 'Panwar', 'Pathan', 'Rajput', 'Rathaur', 'Rawat' etc. Some of them who are claimed purely as Mohammadan added against their names titles like 'Ansari', 'Charyari', 'Jalali', 'Khawaja', 'Mahar', '**Khawaja-Mansuri**', 'Khawaja-Muhammadi', 'Khawaja Sarai', 'Mohammad Hanfi', 'Mohammadi', 'Momim', 'Sayyid', '**Shah Mansuri**', 'Shaikh', 'Shiah', 'Sunni', 'Turkiya' and

‘Usmani’.³⁴ However, these branches of local term used by the cotton-carders are not documented in any other historical records.

The Hindu Dhuniyas (Cotton-carders) claim their origin from the Rajput. They are divided into five endogamous sub-castes such as Chauhans and Bargujar who claim themselves as Rajputs and the Dhakeri, Bargali and Chunkari, adopt their names from the ‘Dhak’ tree (*butea trandosa*): the bar (*ficus Indica*), and the Chhonkar (*Prosopis spicigera*), all of these are the sacred trees and regarded with special respect by the people of Hindu cotton carders who adopted their names from them.³⁵ Their social customs, traditions, religious and ritual practices were common to the lower castes in social order.

Historically, Mansooris become conscious about the development of their community and organized a meeting in Gujrat in 1932. This meeting resolved that a report be prepared about the people who were originally associated with this occupation in India. The same year the first All India Conference was held at Allahabad in which members participated from different parts of India. Thus, the people of Mansoori community started organizing as ‘biradari’. They began to think about consolidating and organising themselves. Thus, in 1940 an organisation called “Jamaitul Mansoor” was formed for the upliftment of the members of the community.

It is extensively propagated to organize the Mansooris at All India level to those who were still unaware about the conference of the biradari. so second All India Mansoori Conference was held at Lucknow. The conference was attended by many delegates from other states of India. In this conference, it

was decided to form a research cell in order to trace the historical accounts of Mansooris as well as to identify the members of the biradari in different places. In this conference, it was resolved to start a weekly magazine of the biradari. After some time of this resolution a weekly magazine “Mansoori Pagham” and “Mansoori Gazette” as the mouth piece of the Mansooris started to publish from Lucknow and Kanpur respectively.

At some later stage the name of organisation was changed into another name “All India Mansoori/Naddaf/Pinjara Federation”. Its All India Conference was held at Nehtour, a town of district Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh in 1957. The conference was attended by the people of various states. In this conference, it was resolved that the Mansooris should be urged to give up all non-Islamic customs and rituals, to avoid extravagant expenditures on social ceremonies, emphasis on education of their children and also decided to collect information about the cotton-cleaners (i.e. our biradran Brotherwood) who are living in one's own vicinity. In the conference, it was urged that we should participate in political activities at mass level and to provide the higher education to their children for the development of the biradari. The educational institutions should be opened in various places, so that the children of poor families can achieve the education. Thus, the Mansooris became more conscious about the education. Despite of increasing educational consciousness among Mansooris and some of them emerged as teachers, clerks, doctors, engineers, lawyers, government employees and other technical professional after acquiring the modern education but Mansooris are still largely illiterate in comparison of others communities.

3.3 Description of Occupation

As mentioned earlier the traditional occupation of Mansoori community is cotton-carding as a primary source of income. The main economic activity of them is to make suitable of the cotton by the process of cotton-carding for preparing of the mattresses (gaddas), quilts (razais) and pillows (takiye) etc during the winter season. The traditional occupation of Mansooris is cotton-carding and scutching of cotton which is done through a bow and wooden handle by subjecting it to the vibration of a bow-string.³⁶ Bow and wooden handle is the instrument by which they earned their livelihood in the society. The process of cotton-carding and scutching of cotton is done in that way first, the seed has been removed from cotton by a hand-ginn but the ginned-cotton remains still contain much of dirt, leaf-fibers and other rubbish materials and remove to these were the main activity of Mansooris. The technical instrument (i.e. the bow) is somewhat similar to a harp in shape, the wide end of the bow consists of a broad piece of wood over a string passes, being secured to a straight wooden bar at the back. At the narrow end the bar and string are fixed to an iron ring. The string is made of the sinew of some animal. The mallet is made of wooden in the shape of just like a dumbbell.³⁷

The way of doing this work is that the bow is suspended from the roof at a suitable height so as to be hanged in comfortable position to work over the pile of loosen the cotton and the cotton-carder twangs the string with the mallet and then draws the mallet across the string strikes each three and four times on a small portion of the cotton, the fiber of which is scattered by the impact and

thrown off in a uniform condition of soft fluff, all dirt being at the same time removed from the cotton. This operation of the Mansoori community is technically known as teasing.³⁸ The cotton which is cleaned and soft by this operation are used for filling up of quilts, mattresses, pillows and wraps, and the warm readymade garments in the chilly winter season. The clean cotton is also made into balls, and some of which are passed on to the spinner and the cloth-mills for making cloths etc.

A description of the instrument of bow is also being made by M. Sherring by which the work of cotton-cleaning is performed. He says that it is squatting on the ground before a quantity of fresh cotton, which is originally full of dirt, seeds, bits of sticks and so forth, the bow being in his left hand and wooden mallet in his right hand the cotton-carder strikes the string of the bow and brings it quivering to the surface of the cotton portions of which adhering to the string in the light and the fibers are immediately caught up by the string. The striking is being replaced continuously all the cotton by the degrees beautifully combed. And at the same time its dirt particles becoming separated from the fibres and being weight fall away themselves from the cotton. The cotton becomes very soft and clean through this operation.³⁹

Cotton-thrashing: cotton-cleaning or ginning of cotton and even the spinning are some of the important economic activities of Mansooris. Thrashing and cotton-cleaning argued as above, but in the process of spinning, the cotton-carders spurn the yarns for making clothes in mills. The cotton-carders were first category of people who engaged in the cotton-activities like

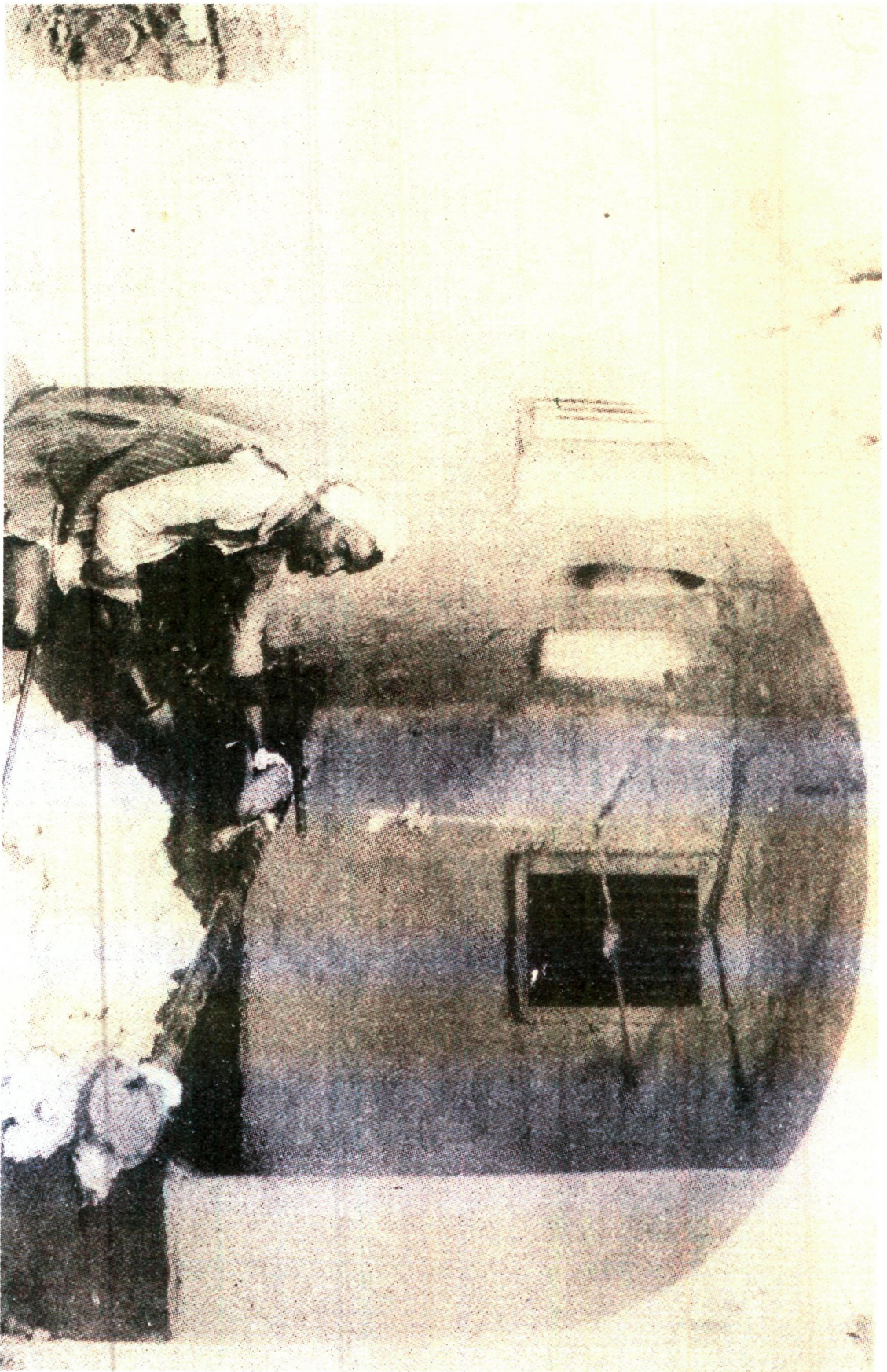


Fig. 1: Cotton Cleaner during the Performance of his Occupation

above. As, we have argued earlier that they are mainly involved in making the razais (quilts), gaddas (mattresses) and takkiyas (pillows) during the winter season. With the coming of new technology and used of costly machineries, the work of cotton-carding, adopted by the people of other communities by investing huge amount in the establishment of cotton-cleaning handloom. The manual handwork of Mansooris disappeared. The people of Mansoori community were not in that position to establish the manufacturing factory and handloom machines. Most probably the traditional activity of cotton-cleaning is performed by the Mansooris in the factory but the ownership has gone in the hands of other people mostly the Banias (trading community) because they could invest huge amount on handloom machineries. Thus, there was a reason that the people of Mansoori community are shifting from their traditional occupation to other economic activities.

Thus, the Mansoori, is an endogamous group of Muslims who are placed at lower position on the social ladder. They performed several cultural practices like, vermilion, a black bead (kalipot), mangalsutra (a necklace), and the green bangles as a marriage symbol for women. Lachha is a marriage symbol and pre-marriage rituals as betrothal (sagai) and Mehendi Ki Rassam etc are performed by the members of Mansoori community. These ritual practices constitute the part of little tradition of Indian rural society. Under the impact of Islamization and modern education these social practices are at decline and disappeared.

Unlike the Mansooris of other parts of India, the Mansooris in north-western districts of Uttar Pradesh do not have any kind of strong platform of social political organisation. Nor do they have any social affiliation with other groups, Mansooris are a localized community having their social relations within specified areas because unlike other Muslim biradaris like Ansaris, Quereshis etc, they could not establish their recognized unity and identity in the society. They were unconscious and ignorant of their recognition about the unity and identity because they do not have any common biradari name of identity and due to lower position of occupational status in the society. Even some of them who achieved higher position after acquiring education and economic betterment among the Mansoori biradari concealed their identity of a Mansoori and preferred to use the title of other higher biradaris like Khan, Chaudhry, Hashmi, Kajmi, Sheikh and Siddique etc. against their names. However, they could not form organization for the purpose of pressurizing the government as the case was with many Muslim biradaris and non-Muslim castes. Mansoori biradari is not recognized at macro level like other Muslim biradaris. This community is known by its traditional occupation.

NOTES AND REFERENCE

1. Russel, R.V. and Hiralal. 1916. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. Landon: MacMillan and Company; reprint 1975, Dehli: Cosmo Publication, Vol. II, p.69.
2. Singh, N.K. and Khan, A.M. 2001. *Encyclopedia of the World Muslims, Tribes, Castes and Communities*. Delhi: Global Vision publishing House; reprint 2002, vol. II, pp.850-51.
3. Nevelli, H.R. 1908. *District Gazetteer of Bijnor*. Allahabad: Govt Press, Vol.XIV, p. 377; and See, the Census Report of India 1931.
4. Levy, Reuben. 1957. *The Social Structure of Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.73.
5. Karim, S.M. Nazmul. 1959. *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*. Dacca: Oxford University Press, p.12.
- ” Ansari, Ghaus. 1960. *Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Culture Contact*. Lucknow: The Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, p.35-38.
- ” Ahmad, Zarina. 1962. ‘Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 17, pp.325-27.
6. Ahmad, Zarina.1962. Ibid, p.332.
7. Ahmad, Imtiaz, 1966. ‘The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure’, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol.1, p.270.

- ” Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1978. (ed.) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. Delhi: Manohar Publication.
8. Crooks, W.C. 1896. *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. Calcutta: Govt Printing Press, reprint 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication, Vol.II, p.297.
 9. Crooks. W.C. Ibid., p. 297.
 10. Crooks, W.C. Ibid., p.297.
 11. Russel, R.S. and Hiralal. 1916. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. London: MacMillan and Company, reprint 1975. Delhi: Cosmo Publication, Vol. II, p.70.
 12. Crooks, W.C. 1896. Op cit., p.297.
 13. Thurston, E. 1909. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Madras: Govt Printing Press, reprint, 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication Vol. III, p.195: And also see Madaras Census Report, 1901.
 14. Thurston, E. 1909, Ibid, p.202.
 15. Thurston, E. 1909, Ibid, p. 196.
 16. Thurston, E. 1909. *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Madaras: Govt Printing Press, reprint, 1975, Cosmo Publication Vol. III, p.195. And also see Madaras Census Report, 1901.
 17. Thurston, E. 1909, Ibid, p.195.

18. Rahim, A.M. *Nagapatinam and its surrounding from 16th Century*,
Unpublished, M.Phil. Thesis, Madras: University Madras.
19. Enthoven, R.E. 1922. *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*. Bombay: Govt
Central Press; reprint 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication Vol. III, p.233-4.
20. Ibbetson, Dr. 1916. *Punjab Castes: Races, Castes and Tribes of the
People of Punjab*. Lahore: Govt Press, reprint, 1975: Delhi: Cosmo
Publication.
21. Russell, R.V. and Hiralal. 1916. *The Tribes and Caste of the Central
Provinces of India*. London: MacMillan and Company. Reprint 1975,
Delhi: Cosmo Publication Vol. III, p.70. And also see Madaras Census
Report, 1881, pp. 646-47.
- ” Robertson, B.B. 1891. *Census of India: Imperial Tables and
Supplementary Return C.P.* and See the Punjab Census Report, 1881,
pp.84-85, 99-100, 158-9, 203.
22. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. IV, p.2417.
23. Thurston, E. (Ed.) Many Volumes on *Castes and Tribes of South India*.
24. Misra, S.C. 1964. *Muslim Communities in Gujarat: Preliminary Studies in
History and Their Social Organization*. Appendix B, Delhi Asia
Publication House, p.152. And See *Encyclopedia of World Muslims:
Tribes, Castes and Communities*, by N.K. Singh, Delhi: Global Vision
Publishing House, Vol. I & II, p.932.

25. Ibid, Vol. II, p.932.
26. Habib, I. 1982. "Non-Agricultural Production and Urban Economy"; in Tapan Raychaudhry and Irfan Habib (ed.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, Vol. I, pp.76-92.
27. Singh N.K. and Khan, A.M. 2001. *Encyclopedia of the World Muslims: Tribes, Castes and Communities*. Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House; Reprint 2002, Vol. III, p.932.
28. Lewis, B. and Menage, V.L (Ed.) 1979. *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. London: Luzae and Company, Vol. II, p.99.
29. Ibid, pp.99-100.
30. Ibid, p.100.
31. Misra, S.C. 1964. *Muslim Communities of Gujarat*. Delhi: Asia Publishing House, p.76.
32. Crooks, W.C. 1896. *The Tribes and Castes of North-West Provinces and Oudh Calcutta*: Govt. Publishing Press, reprint, 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication House. Vol. II, p.297.
33. Habib I. 1982. "Non-Agricultural Production and Urban Economy": in Tapan Raychaudhary and Irfan Habib (ed.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, New Delhi Orient Longman.
34. Crooks, W.C. 1896, Op cit., p.298.
35. Crooks, W.C. 1896, Ibid. p. 297.

36. Crooks, W.C. 1896, Ibid. p. 298.
37. Russel C.R.V. and Hiralal. 1916. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. London: Mac Millan and Company; Reprint 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publications, Vol. II, p.73.
38. Russel and Hiralal. 1916; Reprint, 1975, Ibid, p.73.
39. Atkinson, E.T. 1876. *Statistical Description and Historical Account of Basti District*. Allahabad: Government Press, pp.625-26.

Chapter V

*Mansooris: A Biradari and
Its Socio-Cultural
Dimensions*

MANSOORIS: A BIRADARI AND ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

The present investigation is carried out to understand and explain the social and economic status of Mansoori community in Bijnor district in the light of recent developments. It also highlights the trends of social mobility and the patterns of change in view of emerging new economic order. The basic and significant hypothesis in the entire investigation has been that widening frontiers of education, democratization of Indian politics, empowerment of backward classes and increasing political awareness in general have revolutionized the internal dynamics and external manifestations of community life. The question of identity under the impact of Islamization and great traditional values has also been underlined in the discussion to follow.

5.1 Biradari and Political Dimension

The word biradari is derived from Persian language meaning “brotherhood.” Biradari is an expression of an internalized sense of solidarity shared by its component members. It is associated with a sense of honour on which basis the rank is made either higher or lower in relation to other biradari groups. The concept of biradari has a significant place not merely among Muslims in North India but also in a similar way it is found among the Hindus. The word biradari is also used in local term to indicate an endogamous group having a traditional occupational background. It is widely found among the Muslims both in the rural and urban areas. The concept of biradari is to some

extent similar to the caste model among Hindus. Contrary to the popular belief, Indian Muslims are plural and stratified community divided into innumerable known and unknown hereditary, hierarchical, endogamous and occupational groups. Generally words like “Biradari”, “Zat”, “Qaum” etc are interchangeably used for such “caste like groups.” Among the Mansooris of Bijnor district the word biradari is quite frequently used. It is expressed in terms of ‘Bhaichara’ (Brotherliness) by the members. Respondent’s understanding of biradari is of a social group that is constituted of those whose ancestral occupation was common and among whom the marital alliance could be arranged. Every biradari according to them is either higher or lower to one another in local social structure not merely in Bijnor district but also elsewhere. A Biradari is known for its “Pesha” (i.e. occupation) and “Riti-Riwaz” (i.e. customs and traditions). These are its “Shinakht” (i.e. identity), Muqaam (social status).¹ Despite their belief in the equality of all Muslims, they justify the existence of biradari and practice of endogamy in terms of Kufw.²

In Bijnor district, Muslim residents conceptualize the notion of biradari as an extended related kin group descending usually from a person of religious significance, sharing a traditional occupation and maintaining endogamous relations. Biradaris in the district of Bijnor are hierarchically ranked by the residents according to a religiously uninformed value system. Religious metaphors are invoked as the basis of hierarchy despite the fact that social inequality is condemned in the Islamic Great Tradition.

Among Muslims the conception of caste, usually referred to as biradari but also as zat, may carry with it the notion of 'one body' (cf. Inden and Nicholas, 1977). The majority of biradaris claim descent from some Islamic personality. Since, some local practices are said to be the basis of biradari, it is reasonable to interpret zat to imply 'one body', sharing genealogical features in a blood-line as concerned in terms of the Prophet Mohammad's Caliphas or Companions (Sahabas). It is a fact that a person's behaviour particularly his occupation and character is also a mark of his biradari. Mansoori biradari claims descent from Mansoor-al-Hallaj as referred in Chapter IV. He was the grandson of Gabr and descendent of Abu Ayyub, the companion of Prophet Mohammad.

In Muslims society the caste like features are used to identify the endogamous groups. Though the term biradari in its entire connotation is not exactly similar to what is meant by the term caste, yet in its inner structure it shows the fundamental characteristic features of caste – such as membership is determined by only birth. the group boundaries are maintained through endogamous characters, and group panchayat (i.e. Panchayat of Biradari), and the specialization of occupation that represents the identity of group. It is in this sense that Weber's term for them is as status categories. Some basic features prevailed among them which maintained the social and cultural boundaries between the high and low biradaris among Muslims. Mansoori community is one of the occupational categories in the Muslim society. Their traditional occupation is cotton-cardening, considered as hereditary on which basis; they performed it from one generation to the next. Their hereditary occupation is

one of the most significant characteristic features of Mansoori biradari. Since, there is a close linkage between the caste and hereditary occupation which not merely found but also provide the basis for an economic interdependent of biradaris. Though sociologists and social anthropologists show the system of hereditary and caste reflection among Muslim biradaris, but Bhattacharya and Ahmad indicate that the higher social groups do not claim any hereditary occupation. Ahmad also says that the Sheikh Siddiquis are not engaged in any particular traditional occupation though they were originally land record keepers. Thus, the hereditary occupation is the behaviour of a person which reflects the identity of his biradari.

A system of hierarchy as a conceptualized notion of biradari exists among Muslims in which criteria of ranking order is maintained to identity of a particular group. This is another significant characteristic feature of the caste system in its institutionalized inequality or hierarchical gradation. Within a caste society, each caste is ranked in relation to the other (Dumont, 1970:65; Sinha, 1967:94; Berreman, 1967:48). Ranking is primarily a matter of general consensus, judged largely in terms of inter-relationship and interactions among various caste groups. Caste hierarchy among the Hindus is based on the relation of pure and impure which leads to an hierarchy of status based on the notion of pollution. The notion of hierarchy among Muslims is the criterion of ranking that can be said to conform to the Hindu model. Though the notion of ritual purity and pollution may be exist among the Muslim castes but scholars made contribution towards the notion of hierarchy is found among Muslims. The investigator try to identify to different Muslim groups in the district of

Bijnor that are hierarchically arranged into the ranking order but the notion of ritual purity and pollution does not exist among them as followed among the Hindus. Mansoori community is placed at the lower position in the hierarchy of rank order due to the background of occupational especialization. The characteristic features of Hindu caste system are also found among Mansooris in terms of their social and cultural relation to other Muslim biradaris but do not exist in strict sense of ritual purity and pollution with the basis of caste ranking. Sociologists and social anthropologists claim that the notion of biradari among the Muslim society is found not as caste system prevailed among the Hindus. But they maintain social distance with lower biradaris in terms of social disabilities, inter-dinning, cleanliness and sense of hygiene with the unclean group categories among Muslims (Dube, 1978; Siddiqui, 1978; Bhattacharya, 1978). Though this kind of trend did not found by the researcher among the different Muslims social division in the district of Bijnor, the higher social groups are maintain to some extent the nature of biradari notion of high and low in the society.

If, we compare the endogamous character of the Mansoori biradari with that of Hindus we find that in case of Hindu caste endogamy, there are certain exogamous groups within the boundaries of an endogamous caste and marriages are prohibited in these exogamous groups. Gotra, Al, Parvar etc are the examples of exogamous groups in Hindu caste endogamy. Such exogamous groups do not exist in case of endogamous character of Mansooris. Hence, biradari becomes a general category for mate-selection.

Biradari is also identified by its life style and social practices. The larger society of which biradari happens to be a part has an unwritten, untold understanding of the life practices of different biradaris. Dressing pattern, eating manner, social ceremonies, marriage rituals and daily life idioms become the indicators associated with a biradari in the region. In following pages, the above mentioned socio-cultural and economic features of Mansoori biradari shall be presented and analyzed in terms of field data obtained from the selected sample and highlighted through some selected case studies.

Mansooris live in almost every village and town of Bijnor district and other adjacent districts in the region. In response to the question, what is the name of your biradari? Respondents informed that the Mansooris are known by different local names in India like Dhuney, Dhunias, Pinjara, Penjan, Bahna, Naddaf, Dudekula, Panchukotti etc. These names have already been mentioned in earlier chapter through the finding of secondary sources. Thus, the members of Mansoori community are known by these regional names while the fact remains that their occupation is common and they are known by their traditional occupation. In a supplementary question asked by the respondents who have informed that their biradari in the district of Bijnor is known by the name of Dhuney, Naddaf and Sheikh Mansoori while in a Gazetteer of Bijnor district of UP it is mentioned as “Bahna” (Gazetteer, 1908:103). But in popular terminology, the members of this biradari are called by the name of “Dhuneys” due to their occupation of cotton-cleaning. Because of the consciousness and awareness among the people of the biradari they claim their social status equal

to those of ashraf categories. They recognize them as Sheik Mansoori and the title of Mansoori is used with their names.

It is, generally, observed by many sociologists that economic prosperity and social mobility among occupational groups of Muslims promote the tendency to adopt the Persianized and Arabianised names for their biradaris in order to establish their origin outside India. Thus, they claim their higher social status in the social ranking order. But in reality this is not the case with Mansoori of this region. In spite of growing prosperity, growing social consciousness among the biradari and political awareness among them neither they have attempted to collectively adopt any new name for the biradari nor are their traditional occupational names shared by all the people of this community. But now they tend to claim high social status and collectively claim equal status with other biradaris among Muslims. The trend of Islamization and Ashrafization has also been observed in the field that the members of the community are found inclined to adopt Persianised and modern urbanized names for their children. Thus, the members of the community known by different names come to be identified by a single name “Mansoori” and “Naddaf”.

It is, generally, understood that no sub-divisions exist in this biradari. But some of the respondents informed that the differences exist among them due to economic status, life style and acquired higher modern education. The hierarchical division is shown in the following table.

Table No. 5.1**Hierarchy and Division in the Community**

Divisions	Frequency	Percentage
Pachade	138	54.12
Deshwale	108	42.35
Telia	07	2.75
Multani	02	0.78
Total	N=255	100.00

In order to understand the nature of divisions within the structure of biradari the question is asked to the respondents, that “to which internal division of biradari you belong?” In Table 5.1 data show that out of 255 respondents, 138 (54.12 percent) belong to pachade category, 42.35 percent from Deshwale, 2.75 percent from Telia and only 0.78 percent belong to Multani category. These kinds of divisions exist among them to show their superiority over others in the community. Even they could not like to marry to each other particularly among Deshwale and Pachade. But such attitudes are changing with the forces of modern education and economic betterment.

Table 5.2**Position of the community in the larger Muslim society**

S.No.	Social Status	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Below Syed, Sheik but equal to Khan	2	0.78
2.	Below Syed, Sheik, Khan but equal to Ansari & Qureshi	138	54.12
3.	Below Syed, Sheik, Khan but above Ansari & Qureshi	104	40.78
4.	Below Syed, Sheikh, Khan, Ansari, Qureshi	11	4.32
5.	Above all of them	00	00
	Total	N-255	100.00

Investigator found change in their claim of social status in local hierarchy among Mansooris. We have given for choices to the respondents for ranking of their biradari in terms of social status i.e. the position among general Muslim hierarchy. The investigator obtained information provided by the respondents that 54.12 percent respondents claim their social status is below to Syed, Sheikh, Khan but equal to Ansari and Qureshi, 40 percent respondents indicate that their social status is below the Syed, Sheikh, Khan but above Ansari and Qureshi, while very few percent (i.e. 4 per cent) respondents informed that the social status of the biradari is below to Syed, Sheikh, Khan and even Ansari and Qureshi and only minor percent of respondents claim their social status is equal to all other Muslim biradaris except in case of Syed, Sheikh and Khan.

On the basis of empirical information provided by the majority of respondents, it may be concluded that there is a common understanding in the biradari that in the socio-hierarchical order, the status of the community is below to Syed, Sheikh and Pathan communities. This finding is in conformity with Ghaus Ansari's study. The question of social inequality leading to social stratification is the serious subject of the study of a society. Muslims (a loose Islamic society), in India generally claim that there is no question of inequality among the believers, however at empirical level as shown in the table social differentiation is a part of social structural reality.

Political Dimension

In response to the question if there are some biradari organization in the community, most of the respondents replied in affirmative with the remark that there are biradari panchayat or association in the villages and the towns. They also informed that there is biradari organization from the district to state level and biradari organization is also working at the national level but these are not very much functional. Even the local organizations are not very effective because their decisions are not uniformly accepted by the members. Still some reformative activities have been undertaken by the biradari panchayats. In a democratic country, like India, participation in politics and the right of franchise is considered an essential part of citizenship. Thus, it is during election period that the members of the community become active and try to create a feeling of unity and togetherness to give an impression that biradari organization is a potential political manifestation of Mansooris sentiment. This

creation of political consciousness is like a caste consciousness whose political vibrance is often realized in the democratic processes and power competition. Political incarnation of caste, as is often argued by political sociologists in India, is almost synonymous to political dimension of biradari panchayat in artisan and occupational groups of Indian Muslims.

It is increased political vibrance of biradari that its “noble” or “dignified” origin is claimed and highlighted for higher social status of biradari. This pseudo consciousness has a functional aspect that paves the way for reform and change in terms of cultural and educational advancement. During the last few decades particularly after 1980’s there has been an obvious change in the economic status and educational advancement in the community. This has led to the emergence of educated lower middle class in Mansoori community that poses a critical challenge to the traditional leadership of the biradari. Thus, the community represents two faces an old and other new. The former represents the tradition while the later to modernity and change, where is the critical balance, is not definite to answer. The trend is almost on the lines of tradition, transition to modernity. The condition of biradari has improved more after independence of India. Even Mansooris in district Bijnor appear to avail each and every new opportunities for their development. They have grown in economy, education, living standard, and political participation etc in comparison of earlier period. Thus, it is generally observed that economic prosperity among occupational groups of Muslims promotes the possibility of social reform in the biradari. Similar trend is also found among the Mansooris of Bijnor district in the local socio-hierarchy.

5.2 Family Dimension

Table 5.3

Types of Family

S.No.	Types of Family	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Single Family	43	16.86
2.	Nuclear/simple family	66	25.88
3	Joint/Extended Family	146	57.26
	Total	N=255	100.00

Pannikar (1961)³ states that Indian social structure revolves round two basic institutions are “caste” and “joint family”. But due to the increase of industrialization and westernization, the structure of joint family have been affected (Goode, 1963). Family patterns constitute an important aspect of social organization. Thus, the family is the basic element of social structure among Mansooris of Bijnor district. For analytical purpose, differentiation has been made in the nature of family system among the Mansooris. The pattern of family among them is found joint/extended (complex) and nuclear family (simple) respectively. A nuclear family is defined as one which comprises either both husband and wife with or without their unmarried children. A joint/extended family on the other hand is constituted of kinsmen other than those forming a nuclear family. According to this classification it is found that joint family constitutes the basic structure of Mansoori community as detailed

in Table 5.3 shows that out of 255 respondents, 146 (57.26 per cent) reveal that their family type is joint. The family pattern is not only joint but also patriarchal and patrilocal in all the forms of family. 43 per cent families as reported by the respondents are nuclear/simple family but they still remain patriarchal and patrilocal. Thus, at the centre of the organization of the family is the male part of the gender that keeps control on the organizational activities. Therefore, the transference of occupational skill has a gender bias and male members get the traditional occupation through socialization and training. This helps in the maintenance of community character of the Mansoori population. Several factors like urbanization, industrialization, government programmes of poverty alleviations etc have created possibility of change in the traditional structure of rural society and Mansoori as an occupational category is not left unaffected. In this way, we shall try to examine as what aspects of the community life have been affected by these forces and changes.

One very significant observation regarding the change in the structure of joint family is the household dimensions of joint family as argued by A.M. Shah.⁴ The present study of the family structure confirms the Gujarat finding, in which the members of joint family share certain characteristics like common residence, common property etc. of joint family and simultaneously some of the features of nuclear family such as independent kitchen and taking direct responsibility of their spouse and children. Thus, relieving the ego (head of the family) of the family is of his composite responsibility.

The data as presented in table 5.3 indicate that more than 50 percent families in the studied sample are joint in their structure. The favourable factors for joint/extended family are the traditional occupation and business, importance of family in the biradari, force of traditional values and sense of social and economic security among the members of the family. It is perhaps rightly said that joint family in India is a social insurance for its members. But the empirical data also reveal that there are strong tendency of disintegration and breakdown in the structure of joint family due to diversification of occupational activities, lack of privacy in the joint household, bickering, skirmishes and attitudes of conflict among women and familial disputes. In any discussions regarding the future of joint family in India a question is bound to emerge. Is joint family disintegrating or adjusting itself to the pressures of time? It is found in this study that traditional family system among Mansooris is changing and accommodating according to the changing circumstances. Members living in a nuclear/simple family have a positive attitude for their close components of joint family. The strong emotional ties between kins living separately in nuclear family have obvious manifestation on marriage and ritual occasion and the situation of the crisis such as death, accidents and litigation.

5.3 Marriage, Divorce and Dowry

Nature of marriage alliances constitute an important aspect of social life. In India, the patterns of endogamy are not unknown in other caste-like groups as well. Mansooris as stated earlier are an endogamous community. Generally, their women are not permitted to marry out of the biradari. But contrary to

Hindu form of endogamous marriage within biradaris there are certain preferential areas in the kinship category for marriage, for example, there is preference for marriage with mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughters, father's sister's daughter and father's brother's daughters. The instances of marriage with father's sister's daughter are very rare in this community. Though, this type of marriage is also a preferential category among others Muslims in North India. The practice of exchange marriage is also not allowed in the biradari, though the marriage with elder brother's wife's sister is allowed but such kind of marriage is in rare cases. There is a prevalence of sorrorate and levirate marriages in the biradari. In practice, the remarriage of a widow, widower and even divorcee is encouraged to ensure that the eligible members of the biradari do not remain unmarried. If, we look at these marriage practices from sociological point of view, it becomes obvious that such marriage alliances will promote the integration of community.

Table 5.4

Types of Marriage prevalent in the community

S.No.	Types of Marriage	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Monogamy	248	97.3
2.	Polygamy	07	2.7
	Total	N=255	100

So far as the form of marriage among Mansooris is concerned the data in Table 5.4 reveals that more than 97 percent of the respondents are in favour of

monogamous marriage. Polygamy though, not exceptional but is quite rare. It is contrary to the common belief that Muslims are generally polygamous group. Factors responsible for the prevalence of monogamy in this community may be the economic condition, social pressure of the group. There are some other reasons for preference of monogamous marriage. It was cited that a person could adjust with one wife in a better position and in other case (i.e. in polygamy) a person could not adjust because of possibility of conflict among his wives will be taken place. Though the Islamic Sharia permits polygamy and that was also practice during early days of Islam and in medieval period by nobility in India. It is now less approved practice of Indian Muslims. With the passage of time, the practice is on fast decline as modern education and women empowerment negates the value of polygamous marriage. Muslims as minority in India do have privilege to maintain their personal law. But in real practice, its instances are few and secondary data inform that the incidence of polygamy is higher among the Hindus than that of Muslims.

The ritual practices involved in the marriages are according to both what we call great tradition and little tradition. The fixation of mahar, presence of two mature and sain male members as witness on the occasion, public declaration, nikah solemnized by Moulvi or Kazi (cleric) are some parts of the great tradition. The elements of little or local tradition like Mandha (the custom observed a day before marriage by the relatives and friends), distribution of sweets among the members of biradari, Chottisehra (the ritual performed at morning of marriage day before departure marriage procession to bride's house), songs presented by women folk, Salami, and Gauna or Samdola

(effective marriage) etc. are performed during the course of marriage in the biradari. As the educational levels of the community particularly among girls are still low, child marriage still exists among Mansooris. It is quite prevalent particularly among uneducated rural society. Though law does not endorse it but girls below the age of puberty are married as early marriage has no negative value in the community. It is in the case of child marriage that some rituals are performed to finally solemnized (consummation) marriage. Among such practices gauna or samdola is important. With the passage of time, as informed by the respondents, the practice of child marriage is on fast decline.

Despite the fact that marriage among Mansooris is a fine blend of great and little traditions but the fact remains that the whole ceremony is coloured by the elements of little traditions, though continuity and changes in the nature of marriage practices can be observed among the Mansooris of today.

Table 5.5

Respondent's opinion regarding marriage within Biradari

S.No.	Nature of Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Yes	218	85.5
2.	Not necessarily	37	14.5
	Total	N=255	100.0

The data obtained from the sample show in Table 5.5 that 218 (85.49 percent) respondents prefer marriage alliance within their biradari while 31(14.51 percent) respondents had no objection to contracting marriage

alliance out of the biradari. Thus, the majority of the respondents believe in biradari endogamy. They think that the marriage outside of biradari has some negative aspect: first, spoil the biradari culture, secondly, creates the problems in conjugal adjustment. Thus, it should be discouraged. On the other hand, there are 14.5 per cent respondents who feel that marriage within biradari is not necessary as a Muslim one can marry within any groups of Muslim as all Muslims are equal in the eyes of the Islam. Another argument in such kind of marriage is given that it helps in enlarging the network of socio-economic relationships. And last one is the emerging problem of marriage of the poor girls. Here what is important is the marriage and not the biradari. We have found the reflection of these arguments in the growing incidence of marriage outside of the biradari perhaps due to the advancement in education and economic betterment. Such instances are found in case of poor girls, divorcee and widow women who find it difficult to marry within biradari. The nature of marriage alliances and marriage practices has function for the biradari. It promotes internal solidarity and cohesiveness in the biradari, helps in the transference of cultural continuity and maintenance of group identity. It is also argued that biradari endogamy has a positive role for the accommodation and adjustment of bride's behaviours in her- laws family, due to the occupational specialization of the family.

Table 5.6**Respondents Position of Marriage Alliances in the Community**

S.No.	Nature of Response	Frequency	Percent
1.	Yes	249	97.65
2.	No	6	2.35
	Total	N=255	100.00

The question is asked about the marriage of the respondents that “Are you married to a woman of your own biradari?” The data in Table 5.6 show that out of 255, 249 (97.65 percent) respondents say “yes” while 6(2.35 percent)of the respondents give the responses in negative. It indicates that Mansooris are mostly attached with purity of blood of their biradari, so that the social structure of biradari is maintained and social solidarity is obtained.

Table 5.7**Preferences for Mate-Selection in the Community**

S.No.	Preferences of marriage alliance	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Marriage alliance within Biradari	97	38.04
2.	Marriage alliance within Town & Biradari	81	31.76
3.	Marriage alliance within Khandan	23	9.01
4.	Marriage alliance within Kinship groups	40	15.70
5.	Marriage alliance outside the Biradari	14	5.49
	Total	N=255	100.00

In order to find out the choices of the respondents in terms of the marriage alliances in the biradari, the data in Table 5.7 show that 38.04 percent respondents prefer intra-biradari marriage, 31.76 percent respondents give the preference of marriage alliances of the children in their own biradari but in urban areas. It seems that emerging trend of marriage in urban areas is due to the prosperous socio-economic status, educational attainment and differential nature between the living standard of both rural and urban areas. Since, the Mansooris of Bijnor district have also improved themselves as more urbanized, they usually do not prefer to marry their children in villages and even in small towns because generally the socio-economic status becomes a trend among the Mansooris to choose urban areas to marry their children, 15.70 percent respondents have given the preference of marriage alliance within kinship groups and only 9.01 percent prefer to marry their children in extended family relatives. The respondents who do not want to contract marriages within the khandan and relatives assign reasons for such practices as familial dispute, confinement of choice etc. A small number of respondents view such marriage as usual as they help to solve the problem of mate-selection. Thus, the above data show that large number of respondents are in favour of intra-biradari marriages because to maintain the solidarity and identity of the Mansoori biradari in the social order. This once again establishes the fact that Mansooris are practically endogamous community.

Table 5.8**Acceptance Level of Marriage out of Biradari**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Acceptable	27	10.6
Not-acceptable	228	89.4
Total	N=255	100.0

The information presented in Table 5.8 shows that 228 (89.41 percent) respondents are of the view that they do not allow their children to marry out of the biradari, even if, they (children) insist for such a choice. Two inferences can be drawn from this response: One the hold of parents and elderly is still strong to maintain the family organization. Two, that the majority of the marriages are performed within the group. In terms of the possibility of giving permission to the children for the selection of their life partner independently such a positive sanction for endogamous marriage indicates the importance of family and biradari in the life of the members.

Table 5.9**Freedom of Choices for Mate-Selection by Respondent's Children**

Fields	Yes	%	No	%	Total respondent	%
Sons	27	10.59	228	89.41	255	100.00
Daughters	11	4.31	244	95.69	255	100.00

In Table 5.9 it is found that the role of patriarchy is still strong in the matter of mate-selection of their children. Only 10.59 percent respondents are ready to give such permission to their sons while only 4.31 percent agree to allow their daughters to select their life partner themselves. What are the socio-economic and educational background of these respondents, remains a subject of further investigation. Yet, it is summarised that the educational status and economic independence may be the factors for the selection of such alliances.

Apart from these aspects of the rituals and customs related with marriage among the Mansooris, the changes are taking place in the practices of little tradition and great tradition. The ceremonies of “Gauna or Samdola or Chootisehra”, rituals related with “Salami” are on decline though still performed in many cases. Indeed, many earlier customs have either disappeared or are not defined. Among the Mansooris, marriages are comparatively simple. Except some cases of classical sufi songs (Quawwali) and other music cassettes are often played at the time of the marriage. The music bands are now more or less disappeared and strictly prohibited. The process of Islamization⁵ and its expression at subconscious level displays one self as Ashrafized,⁶ which seems to be the reasons for the disappearance of these earlier local customs while the concept of modernity and consumerism appears to be some reason for the addition of new customs as practised in ashraf groups.

The process of Islamization, Ashrafization and modernity altogether lead people to arrange the sermons of a molvi (cleric) and other new activities.

The earlier some rituals and customs of marriages have been changed besides many other new ceremonies have also emerged due to which the expenses on marriage increased among Mansooris in the district of Bijnor.

Mahar (Dower)

In terms of the nature and structure of marriage institution in Islam, it can be termed as a civil contract. Every contract is fixed between two parties or persons with certain identifiable conditions. In case of Muslim marriage, the declaration of permission of legitimate conjugal relationship between a mature Muslim male and a female requires a witness (two male or one male and two females but not four female), a fixed mahar (in cash/kind) and condition for the dissolution of the contract. Thus, mahar (dower) is a part of a Muslim marriage, which is paid in cash or kind by the bridegroom to the bride preferably at the time of marriage or positively at the time of divorce if the contract is dissolved. Mahar (dower) may be of two types prompt (Mu'ajjal) dower and deferred (Mu'wajjal) dower. The Holy Quran says, "Give Women their dower as a free gift."

This implies that mahar is a gift which belongs to the woman (bride) herself and not her father or mother or the parents of the groom. The mahar is not the wages or payment for her upbringing and maintenance by the parents of the bride. The mahar is a condition in form of some money or kind and paid in cash on demand or at time of divorce or dispute which is known as deffered dower. Among Mansooris mahar is not settled before marriage rather it is negotiated at the time of Nikah. Practically mahar is not paid by the groom

promptly. It is often deferred and paid on demand (deferred mahar). The field data help us to know that in the majority of cases, deferred mahar is practice in Mansori community and it is paid only at the time of divorce (if it occurs) along with dowry paid to bridegrooms.

Table 5.10

Fixation of Mahar among Mansooris

S.No.	Range of Mahar (in Rupees)	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Mahar-e-Fatmi (Rs. 15,000)	123	48.24
2.	15000-30,000	79	30.98
3.	3000-60,000	32	12.54
4.	60000-above	21	8.24
	Total	N=255	100.00

Regarding the amount and the nature of payment of Mahar, to be fixed at the time of marriage, the response of the respondents has been presented in Table 5.10. As the table reveals, 48.24 percent respondents prefer Mahar-e-Fatmi. It is a traditional amount fixed by the Prophet Mohammad (SAS) for the marriage of his daughter Fatima with Hazrat Ali. The value of traditional Mahar-e-Fatimi is 107 Dinar in traditional Arabian currency and is almost equivalent to Rs. 15000 in Indian currency at present. The amount of mahar varies between Rs. 15000-30000 in case of 30.98 percent respondents who belong to lower income group. It varies from Rs.30,000-60,000, in case of

12.54 percent respondents of middle income group. And in higher income group, (8.24 percent) respondents, mahar is fixed between the ranges of Rs. one and half lakh to two lakh rupees. This is a very microspic category. Thus it is obvious that condition of mahar fixation varies and depends on the individual capacity. The ranges in fixation of mahar have a direct relationship with socio-economic status of the parties as expressed by the respondents. Generally higher is status, higher is the mahar and more is the dowry. Thus, the amount of mahar varies according to the volume of dowry. A detail explanation of this observation will follow in coming part of dowry explanation.

A careful observation of the data in Table 5.10 reveals that the value of mahar increases with the increase of social and economic status of family. In other words the amount of mahar indicates the high status of the family in the biradari. Since, mahar and dowry have a positive relationship and the amount of dowry and its forms increase day by day. In all likelihood the notion of traditional mahar-e-fatmi will see on a decline with the passage of time. It is an indication of emerging dilemma between tradition and modernity. Studies related to dowry among Muslims indicate that it has a trend of rise. This phenomenon is more obvious in Hindu society of India without a concept of mahar. Since dowry is paid by bride's side, it likes to balance it by fixing higher mahar. Thus, mahar and dowry operate as an exchange phenomenon. This seems to be a reflection of individualism and rising respect for material possession in social life of the Mansooris. Mahar and dowry both are a subjects of pride for the community.

To conclude the statement that the practice of mahar as a part of great tradition exist among Mansooris but it is found from empirical data that the mahar is not paid at the time of Nikah (marriage) and generally, the groom is exempted from it by promising to pay it at the time of demand made by the wife.

Divorce

Divorce in Islam has remained through the ages a controversial subject. Though, divorce is permitted by Islamic Jurisprudence. "Of all things permitted by law, divorce is the most hateful in the sight of God" (Abu Dawood, XIII: 3).⁷ Individuals and groups have brought to bear upon the Islamic law of divorce and an assessment of interpretations is given to suit various interests. As a result, to this day there has been no agreed solution to the problem (Ellickson 1976, Anwar 1983).⁸ In spite of its permissibility divorce carries a stigma in social life particularly of women as remarriage of women after divorce is a difficult proposition. The operative part of divorce in Islam is relatively simple and easy. It may be executed through verbal pronouncement of "I divorce you (wife)" thrice. There is a host of argument and counter-argument about the execution of triple divorce in different schools of Islamic jurisprudence. However, the field view of phenomenon is that its execution has an obvious edge for the husband in the local community life. In public discourse, it is considered a shameful and most atrocious act. Nevertheless it occurs. And the instances of divorce are at rise. The rise in divorce rate is perhaps a universal aspect of the fact. The whole scenario brings us to the point

where the trio of mahar, dowry and divorce become interrelated. This conclusion has a sociological relevance to understand the increasing crisis in the local community and penetrating impact of material forces and individualism of social life. It is also observed that wherever western manners and customs have influenced the lives of the people more, the number of divorces has also gone up. This tendency is also found among Mansooris of Bijnor. Thus, in the pages to follow an attempt has been made to underline and identify the causes and factors responsible for divorce among Mansoori community.

Table 5.11

Factors leading to Divorce in the Mansoori community

S.No.	Factors	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Marriage out side of Biradari	13	05.20
2.	Due to economic problems	78	30.47
3.	Problem of socio-psychological adjustment	79	30.98
4.	Polygamy & extra marital relations	30	12.67
5.	Others (not specified)	55	25.09
	Total	N=255	100.00

As stated earlier Mansooris are an endogamous community and exogamy, though not prohibited, has a lesser sanction. In present study, out of

255 respondents 5.20 percent are of the view that marriage out of the biradari is a reason for divorce. Almost one-third (30.47 percent) respondents attribute economic problems as a cause of divorce. An important dimension of socio-psychological adjustment in marital relationship has been considered as the factor for divorce. Another reason for divorce according to the respondents is polygamous marriage and extra marital relations. Acceptance of polygamy as a cause of family maladjustment because of quarrelsome attitude of wives in the adjustment in the family while remaining 25.20 percent respondents expressed that other factors such as demand of dowry, ill manner of wife, infertility of woman and impotency of husband are responsible for divorce.

The data show that among various causes of divorce, economic disadvantages seem to be major one. Therefore more cases of divorce are found among the lower-middle income groups. Besides these, we found that impotency of the husband, infertility of wife and frequent skirmishes in the houses etc. are the major causes of divorce.

There is a general understanding among the members of the Mansoori community that high dowry and high mahar reduce the possibility of divorce. Thus, despite its many negative aspects, dowry has a positive role in lowering down the chances of divorce.

Remarriage

Remarriage after divorce, a widowhood or of a widower is a normal phenomenon in Mansooris. Infact, we do not find any divorced woman who remained unmarried. Similarly, it has been informed that widow and widower

of marriageable age can easily marry if they wish to do so. There are some 26 cases of divorce in the age between 25 to 40 years who are married with the divorced woman in the community. There are a few cases of such kind of remarriages, those who have married the women of other biradaris due to the difficulty of getting women in their own biradari. Though divorce is a problem which shatters the family and kinship relation, it brings tension and a sense of social humiliation, remarriage of a divorced women is not a stigma and generally the members of biradari take it as a collective problem and therefore, marriages of divorced and widow girls and women among Mansooris is quite common. This collective attitude towards divorce and widowhood has an integrative role that consolidates the biradari.

Dowry

Dowry refers to the moveable and immoveable property (cash and kind both) that a bride brings with her at the time of marriage for her husband or husband's parent/guardians, often on their explicit and occasionally on their implicit demands (Hooja, 1987:250)". In ordinary sense, dowry refers to money, gifts, goods or estate that bride brings to her husband at the time of marriage. Charls Winick, (1964:174) has defined dowry as valuables that the relative of either party to a marriage contribute to the marriage". It is also defined as "the property which a bridegroom receives from his wife or her parents at the time of his marriage". (Encyclopedia of social sciences, vol. V:230). To some extent a similar definition is also given in Encyclopedia of

Britanica which refers the term dowry as “the property that is given to a bride by her parents at the time of her marriage.”

The dictionary meaning of dowry is different from the one given in the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961. According to Webster Dictionary, dowry means money, goods or estate that a woman brings to her husband at marriage. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, “it is property which a woman brings to her husband at the time of marriage.”

Dowry is a key element in marriage transactions (Mehroof, 1976).⁹ Among Muslims, the practice of high dowry is more prevalent in the higher socio-economic groups because it is considered as a symbol of pride and esteem. Though the concept of dowry does not exist in Islam, in the tradition of prophet on the occasion of marriage at daughter's family (bride's family) giving gifts of some useable domestic items and commodities for her use in her in – laws house. Instead of prescribing or favouring dowry, Islam provides legal provision of a definite share for daughter in her parental immovable property. The share of daughter in her parental immovable property is one fourth part according to the shariat (Islamic law). Share of daughter in her father's property is hardly accepted. Explanatory factors may be many. Firstly under Hindu influence, Muslims do not feel the need to pay daughter's share. Secondly due to patriarchy and agrarian economy, division of land is a negative sanction. However, in the local tradition of Muslims in general and in India in particular, there is a customs of giving dowry. Though, the incidence is more obvious and visible in the lower middle class Muslims society. Thus, dowry is

not a religious problem, it is more a social problem determined by the social conditions and forces of change.

In the present study empirical data reveal that the incidence of dowry is quite frequent and it has made marriage more expensive. It consists of costly clothes for groom, his parents and relatives. Luxury furniture, utensils and crockery of copper, bronze and bone-china, electric appliances (electric fan, cooler, washing machine, refrigerator, Television etc.), even a vehicle like motor cycle, a car etc. Though cash is neither given nor any such kind of direct demand is made, but the expectations are always high among them for dowry. Some elderly respondents under this study informed that the desire of taking dowry is quite latent and its manifestation is never direct. The idea is generally conveyed through relatives and friends and its response is also negotiated indirectly. It is quite rare that dowry demand becomes a cause of breakdown of marriage settlement. It is implicit in the entire process of marriage settlement. An obvious contradiction between what is preached and what is practice exist as presented in the table below. At the face value demand of dowry is denied but in real practice it is not only accepted but also quite expected. Following table will indicate the prevalence of dowry among Mansooris.

Table 5.12

Extent of Dowry in Mansoori Community

Nature of responses	No. of respondents	Percentage
Yes	238	93.33
No	17	6.67
Total	N=255	100.00

As shown in Table 5.12 data reveal that 93.33 percent respondents positively confirm that the dowry has become a regular practice in the biradari while remaining 6.67 percent respondents expressed that it is not a regular practice but it depends upon the economic position and the status of girl's family. When the economic status of the family and the practice of dowry are compared, it is found that 56 percent respondents belonging to lower income group and 34 percent respondents belonging to middle income group find it of financial burden and experience social pressure and expectation to give dowry in the marriage of their daughters. In response to a question related to family income and dowry only 10 per cent respondents belong to higher income group feel that payment of dowry is not a problem for them. The nature of relationship between dowry and financial status help us to infer that with the rising economic status and social position of the family, incidence of dowry has a chance to increase. Thurston Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption get validated as in the process of dowry giving, there is open exhibition of valuables and social appreciation of the practice. From functionalists point of

view it helps to raise the status of the bride and her family in the biradari. Though not approved by Islamic principles of marriage, dowry remains a serious question among Muslims in general and Mansoori biradari in particular. Occasionally, there are certain attempt of reform and simple marriage among Muslims but its social effects are very limited and localized. The impact of growing materialism in social life is almost all pervasive.

Table 5.13

Expenditure on Marriages of the Children in Mansoori Community

Income groups	Annual income (Rs.)	Expenditure on Marriage	
		Sons	Daughters
Lower	Upto-35,000	50000-100000	50000-100000
Middle	35000-100000	100000-150000	100000-200000
Higher	100000 & above	150000-200000	200000-300000

The field data, indicates in Table 5.13 that generally expenditure on the marriage of daughters is about Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 among those whose annual income is below Rs. 40 thousand while it is Rs. 3 lakh or more among those whose annual income is about one lakh or more. The middle income group with annual income between Rs. 35,000 to 1,00,000 generally spends from Rs. one and half lakh to two lakh on dowry. Thus, it is find out that the expenditure on marriage of the daughters is more than annual income of the

family. The consequences are quite obvious. Indebtedness, bank loans and disposal of domestic valuables are common.

Empirical data inform us that not only the marriage of daughters has become financially burdensome but expenditure on the marriage of sons has also gone up to the extent of Rs. one lakh in lower income groups. Middle income groups spend about one lakh to one and half lakh on the marriage of boys. And the members of higher income group generally spend more than two lakh on the marriage of their sons. But the expenditure on the marriage of sons is not a financial burden in comparison of the daughters because expenditure on the girls is considered as a form of dowry. For increasing high dowry, some responsible factors are mentioned in the following Table.

Table 5.14

Responsible Factors/Causes of Dowry in the Community

S.No.	Factors/causes	No. of respondents	Percentage
1.	For the sake of daughter's good life	137	53.73
2.	For the sake of family prestige	32	12.55
2.	Due to the demand of other side	14	5.49
4.	Others factors	72	28.23
	Total	N = 255	100.00

Data in table 5.14 reveal that 137 (53.73 percent) respondents say that the high dowry is given in the marriage of the daughter for the sake of daughter's good life in her law's house. They think if we give more and luxurious gifts in the dowry of their daughter, they (girls) will live in a comfortable life and highly treated by her husband and his relatives in family. There is a positive correlation between high dowry and status evaluation of the bride in her-law-family. Thus, a positive social sanction to the practice of dowry is increasing the incidence even if the financial position of the parents does not permit the same, 32(12.55 percent) respondents expressed that the more dowry is given in the marriage of the daughter to maintain the prestige and status of the family, 14(5.49 percent) respondents expressed that in some cases, the high dowry is given due to the demand of the other side. Though the demand of high dowry is disliked among Mansooris, it is made by very few persons. When someone searched a highly educated and settled high salaried job of boys for their daughter, this trend is happened for high dowry. Remaining 72 (28.23) respondents reveal that there are various other causes of high dowry in the biradari like boys service and salary, social and economic status of girls family, educational qualification of boys and girls, the beauty and virtue of the girls, aspiration of parents to marry in prosperous family. Sociologically dowry as a problem leads to emotional disturbance, social maladjustments, lowering of woman's position in the society.

Sociological curiosity to identify and investigate the causes and factors of dowry tell us that dowry is a multifactor problem. It reflects the patriarchal social order and the low social status of women in the society. It can be

explained in terms of the process of socio-economic development. It also relates with the problem of social identity of different strata among Muslims society. As said earlier dowry is not initially a problem of Muslim society as Islam does not endorse this practice. However, in traditional Arabian society dowry (bride's price) did exist but that in no way exploited the position of women in society. Dowry in India is fundamentally a Hindu social problem that has equally influenced the other communities in India. Muslims are no exception to it. As argued earlier dowry has both dysfunctional as well as functional aspects in Indian society.

The legal position of dowry in India is that it is prohibited. Government of India passed the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 which was further enforced in 1984 to provide the legislation more teeth. But Dowry Prohibition Act treat dowry as an incognizable offence. Hence, state administration is not directly held responsible to interfere directly in the matters of dowry payment.

Marriage among Mansoors is endogamous as a majority of respondents prefer marriage alliances within the biradari. Several of them were of the view that they would not even consider marriage alliance with ashraf groups. The traditional practice of cross/parallel cousin marriages show a weakening trend perhaps because it limits the family contacts and give rise to familial disputes but it is still prevaient in the biradari.

The right of mate-selection is the right of parents, which shows that the authority of parents has not been affected by the advancement of the society. This shows that the role of patriarchy is still strong in the decision of domestic

matters among Mansooris. The children are restricted to select their spouses or go to civil courts for marriage. Due to modern forces and with the impact of Islamisation, Ashrafization and great tradition, the trend of expenditure on marriages has changed. They spend huge amount on the marriage of their children. Music band is also strictly prohibited in the marriage procession but some cases of classical sufi songs and songs cassettes are often heard being played at the cassette players.

The rate of divorce is ideally very low among the Mansooris. It indicates that they consider marriage as a permanent bond. The whole view of marriage and divorce displays a traditionalistic mode of life.

5.4 Education

It has been demonstrated that education is the most powerful factor in bringing about change in society (Inkels, 1968; Ahmad, 1976; Levy, 1966; Lerner 1958; Kahl 1968; Sethi, 1976).¹⁰ Scholars have shown that lack of education hinders the process of social change (Hali, 1969; Kapur, 1970; Patai 1967).¹¹ Thus, education as it expands its activities in all spheres of human life is a major social process of development and modernization. In a sense, education is a powerful means of social change in the social structure. This is also provide the way of life for initiating change in attitudes and institutions of the society.

As already stated by the investigator Mansooris have generally very low rate of education. They were illiterate except some who could read and write Urdu. And very few among them had primary level of education. Therefore, it

is proved through empirical study that illiteracy among the Mansoori community is very high. However, over period of time the educational status has increased among Mansooris. Economic developments appear to have led the members of the community towards raising their socio-educational level. Thus, now, the trend of being educated has increased both among males and females of this community. Increasing rate of education can be observed by both having a comparative analysis of the survey on the level of education in the community as well as in the responses of the respondents about the educational status.

In order to find out the educational status of the community two sets of question have been asked to the respondents under study, besides a close observation of the community in general.

1. In what ways education influences different spheres of social life? and (2) what is their opinion (attitudes) towards the education of their children particularly the girls child.

To investigate the educational status of respondents three levels (non-educated, literate and formal education) have been identified as shown in the table 5.16.

Table 5.15

Educational Status of Respondents

Level of Education	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Illiterate	146	58.04
Literate	83	31.37
Formal education (High education)	26	10.59
Total	N=255	100.00

It is obvious from the table that 146 (58.04 percent) respondents are illiterate. It means, they cannot even read and write. This fact provides us a justification for the application of interview schedule technique for data collection. At this educational level of the respondents it is not difficult to deduce the educational status of the community. As argued earlier social and economic development is almost impossible without education. Low economic status of the community is a reflection of their low level of education. 31.37 percent are just literate who can hardly read and write that too the vernacular language like Hindi and Urdu. This fact again limits the accesses of the community to new areas of knowledge, utilization of growing economic opportunities is not possible for a population which is so low in its education attainment. We know that there is a positive relationship between education and economic development. Studies on modernization and economic development provide us ample evidence that educational upliftment of a

community is a prerequisite of social and economic modernization (Denial Lerner; The Passing of Traditional Society). When we look at level of educational attainment, we find that only 26 out of 255 respondents (i.e. 10.95 percent) have formal education. Thus, the field data convey an obvious understanding about the community. This figure indicates that the general level of education among the Mansooris of Bijnor is still very low.

Since, the process of education opens the new vistas of social and economic development the respondents are examined whether they are inclined towards education of their children i.e. the next generations (children of respondents). It was asked as to what level of education they would like to provide to their children. The facts have been presented in Table 5.17. The data is in the form of respondent's opinion about their children's education.

Table 5.16

Respondents Opinion about Children's Education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Madarsa Level (Traditional)	31	12.16
School/college/Univ. level	166	65.10
Technical institution	22	8.62
No education	36	14.12
Total	N=255	100.00

As shown in the Table 31 (12 percent) respondents are of the view that madarsa level, i.e. traditional religio-cultural education would be sufficient for their children. Since, it is a single variate analysis. It is difficult to explain the educational status of the respondents themselves. However, majority of the respondents (i.e. 65 percent) are of the opinion that they would prefer to school and college level education for their children. This fact indicates attitudinal change of the community regarding the education of the next generation. Professional and technical education for their children is the choice of 8.62 percent respondents only, 36 out 255 respondents (14.24 percent) are of the view that education hardly makes any difference in their life. They do not have any ambition viz-a-vi the education of the children.

If we try to summarise the opinion of the respondents regarding their children's education we find two obvious but opposite stream. One, there is a growing awareness regarding education in the community which indicates their ambition and urged for change and development. Such a trend, if continues, will help in the integration of main stream society. Second, that looks backward and is an indication of a feeling of disappointment and segregation. Is it due to the force of traditions or a consequence of circumstances that prevail at politico-cultural level in contemporary Indian society, is difficult to explain through this study.

Despite increasing trends of modern education among Mansooris, some respondents do not feel that it is necessary to educate their children because there is a common thinking among them that the children are requiring to help

in their family income by doing some work. This kind of situation is found due to the financial problems or lack of economic opportunities. The members of Mansoori community could not send their children to school for getting formal education. It was therefore observed that most of the children of school going age were taken as apprentices and thus formal education of the children is neglected.

Table 5.17

Respondents Opinion Regarding Education of Children

Education level	Frequencies (sons)	Percentage	Frequencies (Daughter)	Percentage
Upto 8 th class	00		32	12.5
Upto 10 th class	17	6.6	82	32.1
Upto 12 th class	35	13.7	45	17.6
Up to graduation	76	29.8	53	21.8
Professional courses	120	48.0	28	10.8
Others	07	2.4	15	5.8
Total	N=255	100.00	N=255	100.00

In any community research, the question of social change in terms of its nature and direction is of crucial importance. To assess and underline its direction, the present status and future aspiration if compared, help us to understand the situation more analytically. It is from this point of view that the respondents were asked to express their opinion regarding the education of the future generation particularly their sons and daughters. For this purpose

different levels of educational attainment have been selected and the responses recorded to classifying the children into male (sons) and females (daughters) categories. The data have been presented in Table 5.17. It is clear from the Table that 12.5 percent respondents feel contented by providing education to their daughters upto 8th standard only while the aspiration of the respondents for their son's education is obviously high. As we move to higher level of education, we find that parent's educational aspiration for their children has a clear differential for the sons and the daughters. In case of boys (sons) respondent's choice is more far high for professional education while for the daughter there is a decreasing choice comparatively from lower to higher education the table shows that only 10.8 percent respondents favour professional education for their daughters while this choice is 48.0 percent for their sons. How to explain these social facts sociologically? Is it due to economic factors and consideration, is it a function of a patriarchal family system, or it is due to the market condition of employment and traditional attitudes towards females participation in socio-cultural sphere. How do our respondents react to these facts, is explained as under. Majority of respondents are of the view that female education of traditional type is necessary as they need not to be necessarily earning members of the family. However, they agree to the view that modern education is good and useful for the women of the community but the priority must be given to religious knowledge and understanding of history and cultural values of Islam through Urdu and Arabic understanding. Needless to say, that the influence of patriarchal social order of

Indian society is quite expressive in the attitudes of members particularly of low socio-economic background.

How to explain this dilemma of choice between traditional socio-religious education and modern scientific education? In course of the collection of empirical facts from the field, it is observed that the question of female education is linked with the status of community. Some factors are helped in promoting the consciousness for female education and these factors are associated with their prospects in marriage market. Generally education is considered as a positive factor for arranging the marriage of daughters. Secondly, due to the provision of reservation of seats for women in the panchayati (73rd Constitutional Amendment) election, so education is considered as an enhancing factors for better chances in the political arena at the time of election for various position under three tier Panchayati Raj System. Thirdly, the educated women who have proved themselves very effective in helping their husband during the time of economic crisis and also helpful to maintained the life style of their children if they are educated. Thus, the level of education among the women of Mansoori community is going to increased slowly and gradually with the impact of modern forces and allocation of some provisions in the constitution of India. In comparison of the past trend, the status of women has been improved. The literacy rate has also improved among the community in comparison of the past. Mansooris are sending their children to school and also opting professional and technical education for their children.

As indicated different level of education for the boys that every respondent prefer professional education like, medicine, engineering, law and management courses, majority of the respondents do not favour of higher education. The question is asked by the respondents why is professional education not given? In response to the question that it is because of dominant view among the respondents that the investment in the higher education generally goes waste. For Muslims are neither treated for services, nor are generally selected in competition for various professional course and higher government jobs. They support their view by citing some examples of those who acquired higher education but could not get any jobs. They also say that the discriminative nature of the government towards employment and jobs for Muslims. We have reflection of this view in the responses to our question of which type of career will you most like for your sons? Status of a family and its members is determined by the different factors like its origin (caste/biradari), economic position and political power. Placement of the sons into economic career is a significance factor for the family in the community or biradari. What is the attitude of the parents towards son's economic career is presented in the Table below.

Table 5.18**Respondent's Attitude toward Son's Economic Career**

Nature of Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional occupations	05	1.96
Other occupations (i.e. Business)	102	40.00
Agriculture	03	1.18
Government jobs	104	40.78
Foreign jobs	41	16.08
Total	N=255	100.00

On the basis of empirical information provided by the respondents in Table 5.18 that the majority of respondents (i.e. 41 percent) prefer to government services for their sons and 40 percent prefer to go into the field of business as a career for their sons while very few respondents prefer to choose the traditional occupation and agriculture as a career. The data also show the inclination of the respondents towards foreign job.

The facts as presented in the above table provide definite indication for change from traditional occupation to modern employment. A community which once upon a time had a traditional occupation which was not only economy but also its social identity, is increasingly withdrawing from its traditional economic placement for new areas of economic activities. It is obvious that occupation is one important identity marker of a community which is in the process of transition. Will this shift from traditional to market

oriented job, loose the question of community identity and its internal integration? Will it facilitate the secularization process of Indian society? Will the community be able to maintain and cement its internal integration due to persistence of traditional value of family. marriage and kinship are some significant questions to be answered in successive sociological researches on occupational communities of India.

5.5 Religiosity and Rituals

As per great tradition of Islam performance of five fundamental believes and actions are obligatory for all the Muslims viz. Tauheed (Iman), Salat (offering prayer five times a day); Som (fasting) in the month of Ramadhan, Zakat (impost) and Haj (religious pilgrimage to Macca). Looking at the gross roots level of the community, it is found that majority of the members of the community does not practice the five fundamentals particularly in offering salat (five time regular prayer). Even at the level of their social consciousness most of the members are not aware of these basics. Members who are relatively more aware of the fundamentals of Islam categorized them into different schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Though all the members of the community are sunnis and followers of Hanafi school, the Ullemas (religious knowledgeable people) divide them into groups like Deobandi and Barelwi. From the point of sociology of religion, these divisions are the outcome of differences in interpretation of the text, history and sayings of Prophet (Hadis). Since, religion is the system of beliefs and practices that have extreme potential to unite the people into moral community, these variations of interpretation

tend to create new religious communities/groups. Although, the newly emerged moral community continues maintaining their origin in the tradition but at practical level they generate ritual practices and religious performances which cements their separate identity. It is on these basic principalities that sunni part of Islam in India got bifurcated into Deobandis and Barelwis school of thoughts. The area under study has a predominance of Deobandis (emphasizing Quran as the fundamental source of entire religious understanding of Islam) and Mansoori community in terms of practice adheres to deobandi School of thoughts. But due to the physical proximity of the area of study and the town of Bareilly (seat of origin of Barelwi School under the first Barelwi Alim (i.e. the religious leader Ahmad Riza Khan) influence of Bareilly school of thought is visible on the ideological frame of Mansoori biradari.

One of the important reasons for the differentiation between both as despising deobandis was their strong opposition to many beliefs and ritual practices of Barelwis some of these practices are related with respecting Pirs (spiritual men), becoming their Mureed (disciples), visiting to and offering prayers at tomb of Sufis, organizing Urs (death anniversary of their pirs (spiritual man), celebrating birth day of the Prophet, observing post death rituals such as Teeza, Daswan, Chaliswan etc (three days, ten days, forty days respectively after the death). In contrast barelwis do not merely support these beliefs and ritual practices but also provided religious justification for these practices. Even some hard core barelwis call deobandis kafir and ask people not to dine, marry and in short, not to have any social contact while in reaction, deobandis call barelwis, Qabar puja (grave worshipers). These differences have

also assumed conflicting shapes, due to the involvement of economic and political interests. When we addressed a question to the respondents, is the division of Muslims between Deobandi and Barelwi desirable? 234 respondents say “No” while 21 respondents say “Yes”. Those who are in favour of such divisions argue that “Since Deobandis accuse the Prophet (SAS), denigrate Sufis and oppose Fateha and Darud, so they should be condemned in strongest possible words.”

Sociologically speaking religion is not a static system changes in the structure of belief and performance of rituals take place with the passage of time and conditions. In this study, an attempt has been made to identify important factors which may be responsible for the emergence of different sects and divisions in the local Muslim society on religious ground.

Table 5.19

Factors Responsible for Division of Muslims Society

S.No.	Response	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Due to social compulsion	33	12.9
2.	Political Interest	78	30.6
3.	Interest of Ullemas	89	34.9
4.	Others	55	22.1
	Total	N=255	100

As shown in table 5.20 that 12.9 percent respondents conceive that the difference in religious faith and ritual practices is due to social compulsion. Political interest in a democratic set up plays important role particularly in case of internal community dynamics. In Indian situation, secular politics generally moves through sacred formation and local communities, internal divisions in religious and ritual forces become functional for secular political ends. Almost one-third respondents accept that local political interests play important role in creating these divisions. Although, there is no established institution of priesthood in Islam, in practice there are people who are considered pious and religious who generally lead the religious congregation and are considered as the religious leader of the community. These people are generally termed as Ulemas. From sociological point of view, these Ulemas for their own interest try to create a group of believers by prescribing them certain patterns of rituals. These followers function as their religious constituencies. In the present case, 34.9 percent respondents are of the view that due to the interest of Ulemas, Muslim society gets divided into different groups which sometimes act and behave against one another.

Most significant implication of such divisions can be seen in the form of imparting and promoting religious education among the Mansooris. Religiosity is considered as one of the social indicator of the status of a person and his association with a particular community alleviates the position of the community. It is, therefore, observed that there is an emerging trend in the community to associate explicitly with the great tradition of Islam. Islamization of the community is visible in terms of increasing number of hafiz, Alim, Haji

in the community. At cultural level, Islamic practice of purdah, dressing pattern and linguistic expressions are at increase. Sociological consequence of these developments is relative breakdown in the traditional bonds in different communities (both Hindus and Muslim) in the local society. Thus, a possibility of antagonistic relationship based on economic and political interest is possible to grow in the days to come. Through these new identity formation processes, communalisation of secular politics is one of many such consequences in the changing economy and polity of India.

An increasing trend of religiosity has been observed in the field. There is an increase in the Mosque going population to offer five time regular prayers (salat) in more visible Islamic dress. During the month of Ramdhan, religiosity is more intensified and expressive. Almost same is the trend regarding the payment of zakat, the fourth fundamental of Islam. If, we look at Table 6.1 in the next chapter (VI) on economy and occupation, we find that annual income of majority of respondents is not liable to pay zakat as it is obligatory on the annual saving (2.5 percent of it). But quite good number of respondents informed that they pay obligatory zakat every year due to their possession of ornaments and other family assets. Zakat is distributed among poors as well as donated to the madarsas where orphan children get education. Performing Haj is also an obligation in Islam (with subject to certain conditions). It is again found that there is increasing tendency among the members of the Mansoori community to manage to perform Haj (Holy pilgrimage to Mecca) particularly for their aging parents. Looking from sociology of religion angle, it is observed that the practice of both the obligation i.e. zakat and Haj not only highlight the

improved status of the individual members and family, but also integrate the components of social unit into larger whole of the community. More particularly at the time of Haj pilgrimage a sort of social ceremony is arranged in which members of the biradari and kin groups participate to bid an emotional farewell to the person going for Haj. On his return after performance of the Haj, he is once again felicitated and there is a collective expression of joy and satisfaction by the community.

Maintenance of personal law of minority in India is a controversial issue which is more true in case of Muslim minority in India. The constitution of India under article (25-26) ensures minorities to maintain their personal law. There has been a quite powerful and expressive demand from certain political parties and organization to bring about a uniform civil code for all Indian citizens. To explore the views of the respondents on Muslim Personal Law, a question was addressed to them. The responses are presented in Table below.

Table 5.20

Attitude towards Muslim Personal Law

Nature of responses	Frequency	Percentage
May be changed	16	6.00
Can not be changed	239	94.00
Total	N = 255	100.00

It is quite obvious from the above table that the majority of the respondent (94.0 percent) do not endorse any change in the existing personal law of Muslims in India while 6 percent respondents are of the view that the

personal law should be changed or amended according to the modern situation. The societal response for change or modification in Muslim Personal Law is significantly poor. How to explain the situation as it is well recognized that secular and modern education has spread in India after independence. Means of transportation and communication have multiplied the mobility of the people. Industrialisation of urban economy has modified the traditional occupational structure of Indian society. All these secularization forces perhaps remain limited in their impact and religion or religiosity not only remains intact but also increased in post independent India. It may not be out of place to mention the inferences of some of the studies on modernization. Deniel Lerner (*The Passing of Traditional Society*) in his study on modernisation and Yogendra Singh (*Modernisation of Indian Tradition*) in his study of modernization of Indian tradition found that the forces of change do not abolish. The forces of tradition rather traditional forces maintain their identity by way of incorporating certain elements of modernity.

In short, it is observed that there is increasing religious education and religiosity among Mansooris. But it did not prevent them from those practices which their Ullema denounced. Ullemas are against playing music band in marriage ceremonies, TV at home, females going to colleges and markets without using the veil (Burqa) and the people generally do not care Ullema on these issues. Indeed, these practices are increasing day by day. Modernity and pragmatism though denounced by the Ullema, are going to increase fast among Mansooris.

These aspects constitute the social structure of Mansoori community. Thus, it is observed that social structure of Mansooris have under gone many changes over a period of time. Nevertheless, in short, socio-political and religious conflict does exist among them but they are united as a group.

NOTE AND REFERENCE

1. Waheed, Abdul. 2000. *Social Structure and Economy in an Urban Muslim Community: A case study of Muslim Banjaras of Baheri, District Bareilly, U.P.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, AMU, Aligarh.
2. Kufw is an Arabic word which is very near in its meaning to the word class. However, Muslims interpret the word in the sense of caste or biradari. The respondents say that there is the saying of prophet in which he asked Muslims to marry within Kufw. So they justify biradari endogamy.
3. Panikar, K.M. 1961. *Hindu Society at Cross-Roads*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
4. Shah, A.M. 1972. *The Househld Dimension of the Family in India*. Delhi: Orient Longman.
5. We have used the word Islamisation to refer growing knowledge of great tradition of Islam as well as trend of its given up syncretic beliefs. It is not the sense of showing orthodoxy and puritanism.
6. Ashrafization in the sense of displaying oneself more cultured. It is used to show initiation of biradaris of higher social status. Indeed, Mansooris are not themselves dominant community and thus they imitate any biradari.
7. Dawood, N.J. 1970. *The Quran (Translation)* Penguin. P. XIII: 3.
8. Anwar, Ferzana. 1983. 'Marriage and Divorce Deed', *Crescent News and Views*, pp.19-20.

- " Ellickson, Jean. 1976. 'Islamic Institution: Perception and practice in a village in Bangladesh', in Madan, T.N. (ed), *Muslim Communities of South Asian, Cultural and Society*, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., pp.53-65.
9. Mehroof, Mohammad. 1976. 'Aspects of Religion, Economy and Society among the Muslims of Ceylon', in Madan, T.N. (ed.), *Muslim Communities of South Asia: Culture and Society*, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
10. Inkels, Alex. 1969. "A contemporary on, 'Is everyone going Modern?', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 75, pp.208-225.
- " Levy, Marison. J. 1966. *Modernisation and Structure of Societies*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- " Lerner, Daniel. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society*. Glancoe Free Press.
- " Kahl, J.A. 1968. *The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of values in Brazil and Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
11. Hali, C.A. 1969. *Changing Status of Women*. Bombay: Allied Prakashan.
12. Patai, H. 1967. *Women in the Modern World*, New York: Free Press.

Chapter VI

*Economy and Occupational
Organisations*

ECONOMY AND OCCUPATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

India is popularly known as a society of caste and community. The common element in the two social structures of caste and community is their association with a particular occupation. Nesfield is of the view that “occupation and occupation alone is responsible for the origin of caste in India. Though the characteristics of caste are not specifically applicable to the Muslim society in India but the element of occupation can be applied to identify different community groups among Muslims both in rural agrarian and urban economy. This is a fact that traditional occupations in Indian society have become ‘the way of life’ as well as symbols of identity which is called ‘occupational culture’ of the community groups.

As mentioned earlier, Mansooris are associated with a particular occupation but in terms of income and payment this occupation is relatively less rewarding as it does not require highly skilled and technical persons. Data from the field regarding the income of the respondents is presented in Table 6.1.

Table No. 6.1**Distribution of Income Groups among Mansoori Community**

Income groups (income in Rs. per Annum)	Frequency	Percentage
Upto 20,000	49	19.2
20,000 – 40,000	75	29.4
40,000-60,000	52	20.4
60,000 – 80,000	36	14.12
80,000-10,0000	25	9.80
10,0000 and above	18	7.06
Total	N=255	100.00

If we look at the figures a bit careful, we find that majority of the respondents has less than Rs. 60,000 annual income. It means major part of the community belongs to low economic categories. Only 30 percent respondents have Rs. 80,000 and above income annually. The Association with traditional occupation with low economic return is a serious compelling force to look for some alternative economic jobs which is made possible due to diversification of economy in post-independent Indian society. A detailed description of Mansooris participation in occupations other than their traditional one shall be presented at a later stage in this chapter.

As discussed in earlier chapter, Mansooris are an important occupational community with a particular location in the mode of production in traditional Indian society. They are known for their traditional occupation of cotton-carding, cotton-cleaning especially involved in making the winter clothes like mattresses, quilts, pillows and other warm readymade garments, mostly used in winter season. The occupation of cotton-cleaning is performed by hand made instrument. They move village to village and locality to locality for working their occupation. In urban areas, some of them have opened their shops in the market and use small machines for performing the work of cotton-cleaning.

This one being a community study, it is sociologically significant to examine the placement of this community in the social structure of Indian society. According to 2001, Census the degree of urbanization in India is nearly 28 percent. Thus, remaining 72 percent population of the country resides in rural areas. Data about the district of Bijnor reveals that 28.48 percent population resides in urban areas while 71.52 percent population in rural areas (census, 1991). As an occupational community, Mansooris are a part of larger economic structure of rural agrarian economy which is marked by Jajmani relations. Farmers and peasantry is at the core of the economic structure of village society in India. And occupational communities like weavers, cotton-cleaners (Mansooris), carpenters, barbers, blacksmith, washer man, oil pressers constitute the supporting structure. The entire gamut of economic relationship of these communities in rural India is popularly known as Jajmani relations.

(i) Jajmani relations

Mansoori community in the past largely depended upon only their traditional occupation. There was an interrelationship and interdependence between different occupations in village community through this occupation. Traditionally, the occupation of cotton-carding or cotton-ginning or cotton-threshing was a component of economic structure of village community. Mansoori as a community has occupationally interdependence with other occupational categories particularly in the regional context. Jajmani system was a basic mode of socio-economic relationships where the payment of the rewards was mostly done not in cash but in commodities and kind at appropriate time like marriage, festivals, and other auspicious occasions. As a part of jajmani relationship, the people of Mansoori community used to serve an identifiable group of people in a given region. Therefore, the economic dependence of this community was largely based on village economy. Jajmani is a system of exchange that operates through exchange of goods and services among different occupational communities. This is different from market relationship. As an economic relationship it reaches much deep to social relationship. The two component of the exchange are known as jajman and kameen (the service taker and the service provider). Due to the long and chilly winter in this part of northern India, there is a need to protect the body from cold during the winter season. In the widespread rural society, there was a need for skilled people to prepare such clothing. Mansooris have gained expertise in this occupation and hence, discharge the valuable services to other

communities in the rural as well as in urban society. Jajmani as discussed is a form of economic relationship in which different occupational groups in India's traditional rural economy support one another for mutual help and cooperation. Thus, inter-community relations are explained in terms of traditional jajmani relations. In terms of intra-community relationship Mansooris constitute a network of family and kinship. For the pursuance of their traditional occupation the help and cooperation of the family members and kin groups is easily available. There is a sort of division of labour mostly based on age and sex in the family for their economic activity. Female members of the family discharge some part of work to facilitate the men folk. The members of the community also engage in other economic activities like marginal farming, tenants, peasants and agricultural labourers. In the economic pursuit, the members of the community collectively join hand in traditional occupation. The women play an important role in the process of cotton-carding work at the home. They make significant contribution in the income of the family. Kinship categories both affinal and non-affinal cooperate and serve as integrating component for the community. Thus, Mansooris are basically an occupational category whose nature of economic organization is such that they become a socially identifiable group. However, with the passage of time and particularly with the growth of industrialization of the urban economy, the spread of modern education, increasing rate of urbanization, mechanization of agriculture and impact of green revolution, coming of market economy, the traditional structure of jajmani relationship has transformed to suit the emerging demand of the market. This affected the traditional occupational structure of the community,

which received a setback like other occupations of the village community. Therefore, the waves of social change initiated through the community developmental programmes have directly influenced the whole traditional structure of the jajmani system in the rural society. Presently, the Mansooris as an occupational community face the problem of livelihood and employment which has deeply influenced the internal cohesion of the community and led to the emergence of many new areas of economic activities.

(ii) Cottage Industry

The occupation of Mansooris was considered as a supporting element for the growth of cottage industrial unit in the village economy. But with the spread of urban culture and the fall of certain small scale handicraft techniques, there is a loss of economic opportunities or employment opportunities in the rural sector particularly among the rural artisans and serving classes. Traditionally, the cotton-carding, threshing, ginning, spinning and weaving as important segments of economic activities are on continuous decline. Readymade garment, clothing, and other forms of use of clothes is creating problem of unemployment and the pressure for change in the vocation of the community.

(iii) Village economy

As argued above, village economy is based on agriculture i.e. on agrarian structure of the society. It is a component of jajmani relationship in the rural society. But there is a cumulative effect of the developments and changing trends which can be seen on village economy as a whole.

(iv) Inter-Dependence

As a component of jajmani relations a significant feature of the rural society (i.e. village society), Mansoori community is inter-connected and inter-dependent with other occupational communities in the rural society but from a sociological point of view, the rural society is passing through a phase of transition in which the pattern of interdependence of the groups and communities is changing and new forms of division of labour are taking shape. It is bound to affect the social institutions of the rural society in terms of their social structure and function not merely of the Mansoori community, but also as a whole.

Economic/Occupational Diversification and Mobility

The process of occupational change which started with the industrial revolution in Indian society and after independence especially from 1960s due to urbanization, industrialization, spread of educational facilities, political mobilization, growth of communication and transportation, infrastructural development etc got accelerated in recent times. Industrialization and urbanization have created new economic order and open up new vistas for occupational choices, spatial mobility and migrations and encouraging changes in economic structure of the society. Mansooris also entered into almost every occupation, through their hard work and freedom of occupational choices. As a result of it, Mansooris are considered as a mobile community. Shopkeepers, owners of bakery, owners of rice-seller (mills), owners of small-scale industrial unit such as handicraft of woods, timber merchants, manufacturing of brush,

glasses, transporters, and contractors among them. It can be observed that Mansooris are found in every occupation except of these sweeping, and scavenging as mentioned in the following table.

Table No. 6.2 Occupational Shift among Mansooris

Occupations	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Traditional occupations	42	16.5
Agriculture	18	7.0
Shopkeepers	49	19.2
Owners of biscuit Bakery	17	6.7
Owners Rice-Mills (small rice seler)	2	0.9
Owners Atta Chakki (Small Flour mills)	8	3.1
Timber Merchants (Ara-Machine)	3	1.2
Selling and purchasing of Grains	6	2.4
Transporters & contractors	11	4.3
Vegetables and fruits vendors & traders	18	7.0
White collar jobs		
i. Teachers in primary & secondary = 10		
ii. Teachers in Colleges & University = 5		
iii. Doctors = 3		
iv. Lawyers = 4		
v. Engineers = 4		
Total =26	26	10.2
Derivers + Mechanics	26	10.2
Carpenters + Masons + Painters	12	4.4
Others like, tailors, barbers, labourers	32	12.5
Total	N=255	100.00

It is found by empirical study that the traditional occupation still persists among the Mansooris. The table 6.2 show that out of total respondents, 16 percent are associated with their traditional occupation while the majority of the respondents constitute about 84 percent has shifted from their traditional occupation and engaged in other economic activities. Agriculture, shopkeepers, owners of different small-scale units of manufacturing, timber merchants, transporters, contractors, vegetables and fruits vendors are become the main occupations of Mansooris while some white collar occupations like teachers, medical practioners, lawyers, engineering and other employed in public and private sectors are the addition of new occupations among the members of the Mansoori community. If we compare with the occupation of Mansooris to the past, it is found that there is fast increase and diversification of occupations. Thus, the percentage of members among Mansoori community has come down in their traditional occupation, while it is increasing in the occupation of shop-keepings and business activities.

Mansooris appear to have responded positively to the emerging trend of economic opportunities. The decline of the community in traditional occupational due to the reasons viz. secular form of government, liberty and freedom to choose any occupation, industrialization and urbanization and liberalization of economic policies. Thus, we find that 36 (14.3 percent) respondents are involved in partners or ownership of small-scale industrial units, like, rice-mills, flour-mills, bakery, timber-merchants etc.; 11 (4.3 percent) transporters and contractors; 26 (10.2 percent) teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers and other white-collar workers; 49 (19.2 percent) are

shopkeepers; 18 (7 percent) fruits and vegetables vendors and traders and some of them are engaged in selling and purchasing of grains and cattle. They have also entered into the business of transport which has grown in Bijnor district, so the members of Mansoori community have become the drivers, mechanics etc.

Though the rate of industrialization and urbanization has increased at large scale, the Mansooris still remained relatively poor, it can be observed in the table that the largest number of Mansooris still constitute as labourers, involved in different economic activities like agricultural field as marginal workers and labourers, and masonry work, painters, tailors, barbers, vegetable and fruits vendors. The economic condition of the community is not better like other communities among Muslims. They have also migrated to urban areas for employment opportunities and there mostly engaged in the works of bakery productions as labourers, hawkers and *karigars* (craftsmen) in the bakeries. Thus, a careful scrutiny of the data regarding employment in different job categories, it is found that there is wide range of occupation that provides employment to the members of the community. The forces of urbanisation and industrialisation has increased the diversification and mobility of occupations for Mansoori community but the fact remains that major part of community is still engaged in unskilled, less rewarding occupations.

In the process of occupational mobility and diversification, a significant trend can be identified in case of Mansoori community. Because, this community traditionally is a part of agrarian social structure but they were neither the owners of the land nor the cultivators is. Therefore, their economic

survival was not on the land. It was, therefore, easy for them to shift from their traditional occupation to other occupations in the market. This explains the dilemma of agrarian change and market relations. Since, they are a part of Muslims social structure, Mansooris constitute a poor section of community. Being an occupational community, Mansooris were the people who provided their services to other communities and castes in the society. They did not produce any goods in the market as in case of weaver community. This was the reason for their backwardness in the society because the government did not push them in their traditional occupation as provided to the weavers and other groups of cottage industries. Government neither provides them any welfare programme for their upliftment nor provides the reservations in the jobs as in case of schedule caste and schedule tribes. Therefore, they remained backward in socio-economic condition. This was also the major reason for them to shift into other occupations. Some of them have achieved successes in the other occupations. But the large section is remained under lower and middle income category in the economic hierarchy.

There is a sharp decline in traditional occupation and fast increase in new occupations as find out by empirical study. The motive and prospects of profits were more in the other occupations than their traditional occupation. The members of new generation also feel shy to perform their traditional occupation of cotton-cleaning. Therefore, there is a tendency to come out of the traditional occupations and enter into other economic activities. In some cases, several members of this community have excelled in other occupations such as

metal polish, handicraft of wood carving manufacturing, dairy farming and animal trading.

Like these cases, many people of Mansoori community who had capital for investment have entered into other business like timber merchants, rice-mills owners, cloth-merchants, fruits and vegetables vendors and traders or prefer to open the shops of various kind in the market. Infact, the shopkeeping become the more attractive business, today due to the larger growing market in the towns of Bijnor district and there is also a minimum chance of loss but consistent return. It can also be noted that those who have not sufficient amount for investment opted to sell fruits and vegetables because it required less amount to start the work while returns reasonable profits.

Economy is one of the most important factors for bringing about the social change in society. Thus, the economic improvements contributed in the development of educational standard among members of the community. And some of them have acquired higher modern education and entered into white collar jobs. Though, there are only 10.2 percent respondents associated with such occupations but it is found that the number of persons in such occupations is going to increase in the group of third generation among Mansooris. This is a three generational survey because the occupational structure of the community was recorded upto three generations.

In this way, we found that 84 percent respondents have changed their occupations while 16 percent still remain associated with their traditional occupations due to the reasons of either their choice or compulsion. Those who

preferred to continue in traditional occupations achieved desirable success and established ginning factories and diversified and modernized their business and way of doing the work. On the other hand, compulsion was in case of those who could not or can not enter into new occupations mainly due to the financial incapability. They were not in the position to invest huge amount in new occupations or modify their traditional occupations. In support of the successes in their traditional occupation are some cases of those who achieved more success. There are some members of the community who still maintain their high income through their traditional occupation by the way of engaging innovational approach and more advanced tools and techniques.

Like these members of the community, we also find other members who have prospered in their traditional occupations. It should be observed that whenever, the occupational changes have taken place, people experiences both upward mobility and downward mobility. This kind of trend also happened among the members of the community in Bijnor district. There are many cases of those whose economic status in traditional occupation was low but it improved substantially due to occupational change. The researcher cites one case in this change.

One member of the community was associated with his traditional occupation. He was not interested in this profession and his father was also not in that position to finance to his son in any other occupation. But he learned the technique of masonry work with his maternal uncle. He has opted the work of manson. He began to earn the money. Slowly and gradually he expanded his

work and starts the work of contract to the construction of the building. He has succeeded in this occupation. Today, his main occupation is as a contractor. His children got higher modern education and he is respected not merely among Mansoori biradari but also in the society.

Like this case, there are other members who have experienced the trend of upward mobility due to the diversification from their traditional occupation into new occupations. Contrary, in some cases among the persons of the community who have experienced a downward mobility. One of the respondents says that socio-economic status of the family has declined towards downward due to the incurred the loss in the business. Thus, there are many other cases reported like to this that have experienced the downward mobility. But, generally it is found that most of the members who entered into new occupations have succeeded. Some of them have become quite prosperous within a short span of time. Therefore, we find that Mansooris have entered into every occupation except of those sweeping and scavenging. Among them, are tailors, carpenters, mechanics, barbers, others technical skilled of occupational activities in the areas of Bijnor district.

Thus, Mansooris, who are associated with their traditional occupations have changed, diversified, mobilized and moderanised with the changing of time. Being a traditional community, they have, indeed, seized any and every economic opportunity emerged in the district. They have entered into new occupational activities (Refer Table 6.2), some of them who have acquired modern education due to the change in their economic condition and therefore,

entered into the white collar occupations. It is fact that the members of the community are become as a mobile community in the society.

Despite having found the waves of changes and development in various fields of economy in Bijnor district, Mansooris are still considered backward and large number of people belongs to lower and middle income groups in the socio-economic hierarchy of the society.

Chapter VII

*Conclusions
&
Suggestions*

CONCLUSIONS & SUGGESTIONS

The prime objective of present study is to find out the social and economic position of Mansoori community in India in general and among Muslims of Bijnor in particular. This endeavour is in view of recent socio-economic development of Mansoori community in the given region.

There is a point of some agreement that in Indian sociology, community studies are not quite prevalent particularly the study of occupational communities among Muslims are very few as mentioned in introductory chapter of this thesis. Present study is an attempt to fill gap to some extent with a view to investigate the sources of continuity and the elements of change among Mansooris of Bijnor. It is sociological fact that Muslims in India are large but diverse group containing within them socio-religious and economic and occupational diversification. Anthropological Survey of India has listed three hundred fifty regional or ethno-linguistic groups among Muslims in India. According to the recent census, Indian Muslims constitute about 13 percent of total population of the country. Muslim population can be divided on the basis of nature and organization of the economic activities into two groups. One associated with agriculture representing the farmers, peasants and landless labourers and others are the artisans and specific occupational communities. Mansooris belong to the both. It is this specific location of Mansoori community in the social organization of Indian society that forms the significant arguments for the present study.

As an occupational community, the members of Mansoori community known by different names in different regions such as Dhuney, Bahna, Pinjara, Dudekula, Panchu kotti, Naddaf etc, but they are associated with their traditional occupation of cotton-cleaning, carding particularly prepared quilts, mattresses, pillows and other warm clothes during winter season. Mostly they are settled down and besides their main occupation they are also engaged in different economic activities in Bijnor. The members of the Mansoori community slowly and gradually transformed themselves into larger group which we called biradari. Among them there is considered plurality of the names of this community.

To conduct the study some objectives are set to examine and explain in the course of the research. These include:-

- 1 To explore the socio-historical profiles of the community.
- 2 To examine and explain intra-community and inter-community interaction pattern.
- 3 To locate and explain the socio-economic status of the community in Indian Muslim society in general and in the district of Bijnor in particular.
- 4 To analyse the religious and ritual practices prevalent among Mansooris and relate it with those of great tradition of Islam.
- 5 To assess and examine the occupational and economic position of Mansooris.
- 6 To find out the nature of occupational mobility among Mansoori community and its impact on social behaviour, social institutions and social rankings.

- 7 To examine the existing level of education particularly females members of the community and relate it with the nature of gender relationship in Mansoori community.

To examine and verify these objectives, some hypothetical statements have been made which constitute the core point to be tested and evaluated in this study.

In 1931 the population of the district was 23530 which grew to 2409884 in 1991. This unprecedented increase in population was accompanied by due to a number of socio-economic changes like the growth of sugar factories, gur crushers, sugar mills, mechanization of agriculture, cottage industries etc. This has also led to changes in the social and economic structure of Mansooris.

Traditionally, Bijnor is rich in sugar production which is a prominent cash crop of the district and prior to independence cultivation land was the main occupation. Bijnor district is well known for the handicraft such as wood carving work, cane work, glass and brush manufacturing in the area. In short, we can say that Bijnor district has long history, agriculturally more developed and growing in the field of industrial development. Though the district is becoming urbanized and accessible through roads and railways tracts from all the directions in India yet it is still educationally more backward.

The population of the district is divided into different castes and communities (i.e. biradari groups). Biradari is an expression of an internalized sense of solidarity shared by its component members. The concept of biradari has a significant place which is used in local term to indicates an endogamous group having a traditional occupational background. The briadaris of Bijnor

district are broadly divided into Mansoori's and non-Mansoori. The non-Mansooris are further divided into two main categories: ashraf and ajlaf. The Ashraf comprised of Sayyed, Sheikh, Mughals and Pathan while ajlaf comprising by Ansari, Qureshi, Blacksmith, carpenter, tailors, Barbar, Mansoori (Dhuneey) and other occupational communities. Mansoori is a very backward community placed at the lower position even in ajlaf category then Ansari and Qureshi and Blacksmith.

Methodologically, present study is conducted on the basis of exploratory and descriptive research design. As a community study, the focus is on exploring the socio-historical background of Mansoori biradari and describes it scientifically. Observation is used as a basic tool of the study. Few case studies have also been done with a view of describing "qualitative" aspects of social life which is otherwise difficult to explain statistically. To administer a structured in interview schedule comprising of important questions on different aspects of the community, a sample of 255 respondents has been drawn through stratified random sampling. Thus, a from of structured interview through already drawn question asked in face to face situation have been conducted. Main focus of the questions has been on family, Marriage, dowry, divorce, education, economic and occupational organization, polity and religious and ritual practices of Mansoori community.

Like any after groups, Mansooris as a community are divided into two categories Pachade and Deshwale in the area of study. Though both the categories claim to be superior to the other one but Deshwale are more advanced educationally and economically. Regarding community position and

rank in the larger Muslim society of the region, it is found that Mansooris by and large claim themselves below Sayyed, Shiekh and Khan but equal to Ansaris and Quereshis in the local hierarchy. There is a trend of high (40.78 percent) claim in the biradari to be superior to Ansaris and Quereshis.

Economic changes bring about the drastic change in many of their social practices and institutions. The changes have taken place in the composite structure of family organization among Mansooris. From the point of social organization, majority of the respondents (57 percent) informed that their family type is joint/extended while 43 percent respondents live in nuclear family. The present study of family structure confirms the Gujarat's finding of A.M. Shah in which members of joint family share certain characteristics of joint family and simultaneously some of the features of nuclear family like independent kitchen and taking direct responsibility of their spouses and children. It is also found that members living in nuclear family have a positive attitude for their close component of joint family. The strong emotional ties between the kins living separately in nuclear family have obvious manifestation in marriage ceremony, ritual occasions and situation of crisis such as death, accident and litigation.

As mentioned in previous chapter Vth Mansooris are an endogamous community but contrary to Hindu form of endogamy, there are certain preferential areas in kinship category for marriage. Also within the biradari there is no exogamous sub-group as in case of Hindu endogamy. There is unique situation of not accepting father's sister's daughter in marriage in this community on the argument that this is a very close blood relationship like

brother and sister. Regarding the forms of marriage, monogamy is more prevalent form in the biradari. Polygamy though not refused in the biradari but its practice is on fast decline. Majority of the Mansooris believe that polygamous marriages are not necessary as one wife is adjust in more convenient way for the smooth functioning of the family.

The ritual practices on the occasion of marriage constitute an important element of identity of the biradari. In case of Mansooris such practices involve both what we called great and little tradition. As a mark of this biradari, local traditions like Mandhaha, distribution of sweets among the members of biradari, chouti sehra, salami and gouna or somdola are performed during the course of marriage. Despite the fact that marriage among Mansooris is a fine blend of the both great and little traditions but the fact remains that entire ceremony is coloured by the elements of little tradition.

Marriage alliances in artisan communities and different Muslims biradaris are mostly performed within the biradari. Empirical situation in the present study is that 97.65 percent respondents preferred marriages within the biradari and 2.35 percent are out side the biradari. But when we look at the opinion of respondents (Table 5.7) it is found that outside biradari alliances constitute 5.9 percent. Thus, there is a breakdown in the biradari cohesion at marital dimension. Table 5.8 reconfirmed this finding when 10.6 percent respondents finding it acceptable to marry out of the biradari. Inspite of changes in different aspects of society, we find that Mansooris as a community are not infavour of granting freedom to their children for their mate-selection. Majority of the respondents (89.4 percent in case of sons and 95.6 percent in

case of daughters) are of the view that children are not free to choose their life partner themselves. As this responsibility is of the elderly members of the family in the community.

Due to economic changes, new economic classes have emerged within the community. This development has influenced the choice and selection of marriage partners within the community. Earlier such choices and selection were mostly confined within the relatives and kinship categories or among those members of villages and towns with whom earlier marital alliances were made. Now there is visible trend of shifting choice from relative and kinship category to those families which belong to their class or to high income groups within the community. Though not very pronounced but this change is likely to alter the social significance of kinship category. Apart from marriage preferences, changes have taken place in other rituals and customs of the biradari. Many syncretic customs and rituals observed earlier at the time of marriage ceremony are no longer observed. Some new non-Islamic customs and traditions are now being observed. Due to the status consideration, display of wealth and growing consumerism, today the people spend more and more money on marriage ceremonies and given more dowry. Thus marriage is becoming expensive day by day.

Among Mansooris the rules of mahar are clearly defined. Payment of mahar is incumbent on every Muslim male member at the time of marriage but there is considerable variations regarding the payment of mahar between biradaris. Since minimum and maximum amount of mahar is not specified in the Holy Quran. The respondents did not give any strong opinion about the

payment of mahar. Regarding the fixation of mahar in the community (Table 5.10) indicates different range of payment of mahar. Majority of respondents (48.24 percent) prefer mahar-e-fatmi in the community.

Divorce as we know, is a permitted practice in Islam, though not desirable. In present study, it is found that instances of divorce are few. In terms of the factors responsible for divorce two important inferences are drawn one, it is the economic problem in the family and two, it is due to psychological maladjustment that leads to divorce. Polygamy is also considered as an important reason for divorce. Regarding the controversial procedure of triple divorce, it is found that Mansooris as a community belong to Hanfi school of Islamic jurisprudence. Hence, the practice of triple divorce is accepted but between the theory and execution of divorce there comes the biradari factors that tries to negotiate and settled the dispute and tension in marital relationship in the biradari.

Dowry is a key element in marriage transaction not only among the Hindus but also among Muslims. It is practiced at a very modest level. In the present study, majority of the respondents (93.33 percent) positively confirms that giving and taking dowry has become a regular and prevalent form in the marriage ceremony among Mansooris. Data reveal that higher is the socio-economic status of the group more is the dowry. Therefore, middle and lower income groups in the biradari find it a financial burden but due to social pressure and group expectation they arranged dowry. According to the Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption, dowry as social practice in marriage raises the status of the family socially. Functionalist interpretation

may be that dowry help to raised the status of bride and her family in the biradari. In terms of factors responsible for dowry, it is a multifactor problem. It reflects the patriarchal social order and low social status of women in society. Though prohibited by law (Dowry Prohibition Act 1961), instances of dowry are at increase.

Modern education has influenced the social character of biradari but in a limited way. Since majority of the respondents in this thesis are illiterates. Having established the economic prosperity of Mansooris let us now examine the educational pattern among them. Economic changes have also led community to acquire modern higher education. Trend of being educated has increased among Mansooris. Though modern education of higher level is not preferred by the majority of respondents, they have given the value of modern higher education. They are still less inclined towards improving their educational pattern. Their opinion about children's education is not much higher in modern education. They considered that the investment in higher education of their children generally goes waste and job opportunities in government are very few and level of discrimination is high. Despite it, some members have acquired high education and entered into white collar occupations and government services. Modern education is thought very essential for success in white collar occupations and other business activities. Unlike the past, females are encouraged to sent school and acquired modern education due to the reservation for women in local body such as (Panchayati Raj), consideration of marriage prospect for educated girls etc.

As mentioned in earlier chapter V religiosity and ritual structure of an occupational community is an important mark of its identity. Due to the effort of Ullemas and with growing knowledge of religion, religiosity has increased in the community. In case of Mansoori community though Quran is accepted as the basic source of knowledge and understanding, the operational part of society gets deeply influenced by the socio-historical and economic condition of society. Mansooris over a period of time have also developed their own pattern of ritual practices at different point of life cycle of the community. Some members of the community have become particular in fulfilling religious duties. Members of the community also generously contribute in constructing mosque and donate in Madaras where orphan children are acquired elementary education as well as Islamic education. The process of Islamization appeared to have started among them with the passage of time. But it has created many religious conflicts not only among Muslims but also among Mansooris. They are divided into Sunnis and Wahabis. Sunnis are the followers of Sufis as well as of Barelwis School of thoughts, while Wahabis are the followers of Deobandi School of jurisprudence. The conflict and differences between Deobandis and Barelwis have reached to an extent that they avoid to make any social contact with each others. Empirical data argued that the differences in religious faith and ritual practices are due to social compulsion and Ullemas teaching. The members of the community under study by and large belong to the Deobandi School. In Indian situation, secular politics generally moves through sacred formation and local communities, internal division in a religious and ritual forces become functional part of secular political ends. It is also observed that there is an emerging trend in the community to associate

explicitly with the great tradition of Islam. At cultural level, Islamic practice of purdah, dressing pattern and linguistic expression are at increase. Democratization of Indian politics has an obvious impact on a political dimension of the community. There has been traditional biradari panchayat or association at village and town level but their role and organization has significantly changed. These panchayats have become weak and poor in resolving the conflicts and disputes among the members of the biradari but their role have increased in the local democratic politics. During the course of state and parliamentary election, members of the community become active and try to create an impression of unity and togetherness and influenced political balance of the constituencies. This creation of political consciousness is like a caste consciousness whose political vibrance is often realized in democratic forces. Mansooris as a biradari, therefore, they become a cohesive group at political front. This is a caste like behaviour of the biradari. A sociological implication of such development is relative break down in traditional bond between the communities both Hindus and Muslims. Economic competition is likely to further to advanced this trend through these new identity formation processes. Communalization of secular politics is one of many such consequences in the changing economy and polity of India.

India is popularly known as a society of caste and community. The common element in the two social structures of caste and community is their association with a particular occupation. The element of occupation can be applied to identify different community groups. This is a fact that traditional occupations in Indian society have become 'the way of life' as well as symbols of identity which is called "occupational culture".

As mentioned earlier, Mansooris are associated with a particular occupation of cotton-cleaning or cardenning specially prepared quilts, mattresses and pillows in winter season. Empirical data reveal that members of community by and large belong to lower income group. The association with traditional occupation with low income return is a challenging force to shift from their traditional occupation into other economic activities which is made possible due to diversification of economy in post-independent Indian society. As an occupational community, Mansooris are a part of a larger economic structure of rural agrarian economy which is marked by Jajmani relations. Jajmani is a system of exchange that operates through exchange of goods and services among different occupational communities. In terms of intra-community relationship, Mansooris constitute a network of family and kinship. Kinship categories both affinal and non-affinal cooperate and serve an integrating component for the community.

The process of occupational change which began with the industrial revolution in Indian society and especially after 1960s due to urbanization, industrialization, spread of educational facilities, political mobilization, growth of communication and transportations. These forces of change have created new economic order and open up new vistas for occupational choices, spatial mobility and migration that encourages changes in economic structure of the society. Being an occupational community, Mansooris found to have seized any and every opportunity which is emerged in the areas of Bijnor district, due to above mentioned factors. They have diversified and modernized their occupations. As a result of it, Mansooris are entered into different economic activities. Thus, we find among them shopkeepers, transporters, contractors,

textile traders, cloth merchant, fruits and vegetables vendors and traders, owners of rice-seler (mills) and bakery, timber merchant etc. Some of them have become the farmers. Empirical data reveal that Mansooris are found in every occupation except of the sweeping and scavenging.

Empirical data under present study indicate that 84 percent respondents are engaged in different economic activities other than their traditional occupation while only few respondents in the sample (16 percent) are still associated with their traditional occupation. In the process of occupational mobility an economic diversification, very interesting trend is identified in case of the Mansoori community. Though a part of traditional agrarian structure the community has neither ownership of the land nor dependable cultivation activities. Thus, land was not their basic source of dependent. It was therefore, relatively easy and mostly compelling for them to shift from their traditional occupation to other occupations in the market. This explains the dilemma of agrarian change and market relations.

Finally, the foregoing discussions on social and economic organization of Mansooris show that there is a system of social stratification in the district of Bijnor which is significantly defined and recognized by its inhabitants. The Mansooris are placed at lower social position in the society. It is interesting to note that though Ansaris, Qurashis are the rank as Mansooris in *ajlaf* category, these biradaris bears the same contemptuous attitude against Mansooris unlike the cases stated by Barth (1997) and Madan (1981). The distinction between Mansoori biradari and other biradaris, though based on occupation are not stigmatized due to its "impure" nature. Cotton-cardening or ginning or

thrashing is considered a low occupation in the eyes of other biradaris but weaving, butchery, tailoring and iron smelting though equally low, are not as stigmatized as cotton-cardenning. This was the reason that this community is considered as a service provider and not produced any articles which was used by the entire society and given valued at market place as weaving occupation. The government did not also give any special package to promote occupation of Mansooris as in case of weaving occupation of Ansaris.

The researcher also observed that the people of ashraf category who are involved in labour work enjoyed the higher prestige and honour than Mansooris. This may be due to the respects and honour is accorded to them not on the basis of economic prosperity (i.e. class considerations) but on the basis of social prestige (i.e. status). These results support Weber's classification of status groups and show, as Barth (1971) that status identity is more important than the class identity particularly, the Mansooris have organized all their economic activities. Only very marginal percentage of Mansooris is involved in their traditional occupation. Those who are continued engage in their traditional occupation have changed the way of work and mode of production with arrival of new technology introduced by the government. The largest group of Mansoori community has deviated from their traditional occupation into other field of economic activities. Another reason for the backwardness and hindrance in socio-economic condition is the lack of modern education among Mansooris. Thus, the fact remains that Mansooris of Bijnor and neighbouring areas are uneducated and illiterate in comparison of other biradaris. The researcher personally observed by empirical study that the ratio of Mansoori students of Bijnor are studying at Aligarh Muslim University is

very insignificant. Approximately five hundred students are from Bijnor district but there are only very few (i.e. 2 percent) number of students belong to Mansoori biradari). Though every member of this community is given the value of education but the ratio of their literacy is still very low. Thus it is needed to conduct separate study which would have to be undertaken to examine this aspect.

Lack of education has not only reduced the status of this biradari, but it has also deprived them politically. Among other communities like Ansaris, Qureshis and high Muslim groups are politically indefinable community but Mansooris are not politically aware and motivated group of people. The results also do not reveal direct attempts of Mansooris to Islamize their style of life and claim a higher status. In fact, the marginal reflection of Islamization found among them by giving up the dance and music band and other non-Islamic practices at marriage ceremony but this in no way has given them a higher position in the society. It seems that the only evidence of their proclamation of a high status identity was when they enmasse discard the unrespectable appellation of Dhuniya or Dhuney and called themselves as "Mansoori" or "Naddaf" today. They wish to be addressed only as Mansooris or Naddaf but not as Dhuniya or Dhuney and other contemptuous names which are considered insulting to them.

It also appears that lack of education and mass media exposure have not kept them back from making the progress in development. To certain extent, some changes in their socio-economic structure have also taken place. This leads us to reiterate the fact that values play a very important role in the matters of concerning social stratification. Structural positions, it seems, that are

culturally determined and in order to bring about change, the value system must change first.

In this way, it is observed in the present study that social structure has influenced with economic structure of the society. It is not only found among Mansoori community but also every caste and community of Bijnor. The stigma of lower grade occupation, values, family and kinship organization of the Mansooris enabled them to change, diversify and modernize their occupations and improved their level of socio-economic standard. The economic and educational changes are bringing about many transformations in their social values, attitudes, socio-cultural practices and institutions. The social structure of Mansoori community considered as a dynamic not as a static. Infact, many non-Islamic socio-cultural practices have been disappeared but some new non-Islamic practices exist among them with the passage of changing patterns in Indian society.

The investigator has tried to his best to explore the community as well as to highlight the socio-economic position of the Mansoori community in the district of Bijnor. Inspite of that, there is need for further researches on the following aspects of the community:

1. History of the community needs further exploration.
2. The comparative study of Mansooris in various occupations and different regions may be conducted.
3. To explore the divisions of Mansooris between Muslims and non-Muslims may also be debated and further traced it.
4. To find out the level of education that leads to change in the position of Mansooris may be reinvestigated separately.

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aggarwal, Pratap C. 1966. 'A Muslim Sub-Caste of North India: Problems of Cultural Integration'; *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. I, No. V, pp.159-167.
- Aggarwal Pratap C. 1978. 'Caste Hierarchy in Meo Village of Rajasthan'; in Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Book House.
- Ahmad, Aijazuddin. 1996. *Muslim in India: Uttar Pradesh (Urban)*, Delhi: Inter-India Publication, Vol. IV.
- Ahmad, Aziz. 1964. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, Aziz. 1969. *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1966. 'The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure in India'; *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. I, pp. 268-278.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1972. 'For A Sociology of India: Contribution to Indian Sociology', Vol. VI, pp. 172-78.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1975. 'Economic and Social Change'; in Zafar, Imam (ed.) *Muslim in India*, Delhi: Orient-Longman Ltd. pp. 231-255.

- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1975. 'Economic Change among Muslims'; in Dietmar Rothermund (ed), *Islamic in Southern Asia: A Survey of Current Research*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1976. *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Book Service.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1978. *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, (ed), New Delhi: Manohar Publications (First (ed) 1973).
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1981. *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Book Service.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz. 1983. *Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Monohar Book Service.
- Ahmad, Irfan. 2003. 'A Different Jihad: Dalit Muslim Challenge to Ashraf Hegemony' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. XXXXVI, pp. 4884-90.
- Ahmad, Rafiuddin. 1981. *The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, Zarina. 1962. 'Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. VII, No.14, pp.325-36.
- Alam, Anwar. 2003. 'Democratisation of Indian Muslims', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46, pp.4881-85.
- Almeida, A. 1978. 'Dowry as a Means of Social Mobility in Indian Caste System', *Researches Sociologique*, Vol.2, No.9, pp.239-260.

- Ames, Michal M. 1973. 'Structural Dimensions of Family Life in the Steel City of Jamshedpur, India,' Singer, Milton (ed.) *Entrepreneurship and Modernisation of Occupational Cultures in South Asia*, Duke University Press, pp. 107-128.
- Anwar, Ferzana. 1983. 'Marriage Contract and Divorce Deed', *Crescent News and Views*, pp. 19-20.
- Ansari, Ghaus. 1955. 'Muslim Marriage in India', *Wiener Volkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, Vol.III, pp.191-206.
- Ansari, Ghaus. 1956. 'Muslim Caste in India', *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. XVI No.9, pp. 104-11.
- Ansari, Ghaus. 1960a. 'Muslim Caste in U.P. : A study of Cultural Contact' *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-83.
- Ansari, Ghaus. 1960b. *Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh (A Study of Culture Contact)*. Lucknow: The Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society.
- Ansari, Iqbal, A. 1989. 'Seminar on the Muslim Situation in India', *New Delhi: Sterling Publishers*, Vol. XII, p.253.
- Ansari, Mohammad Fazl-ur-Rahman. 1967. *The Quranic Foundation and Structure of Muslim Society*. Karachi: Indus Educational Foundation.
- Aitchison, C.U. 1909. *A Collection of Treaties Engagements on Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*. Calcutta, Vol.1.
- Atkinson, E.T. 1876. *Statistical Discription and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces*. Allahabad: Govt. Press of U.P.

- Atkinson, E.T. 1881. *Statistical Description and Historical Account of Bijnor*. Allahab: Govt. Press, Vol.5.
- Baig, M.R.A. 1974. *The Muslim Dilema in India*, Delhi: Vikash Publishing House.
- Bailey, Frederick. G. 1963. 'Closed Social Stratification in India' *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol.4, No. 1, pp. 107-124.
- Bailey, Frederick. G. 1967. *Caste and the Economic Frontier*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Barth, Fredrick. 1971. 'The System of Social Stratification in Swat, North Pakistan', in Leach, E.R. (ed.) *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press.
- Bendix, Reinhand and Lipset. 1974. *Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. London, Routledge and Kegan Ltd.
- Berreman, G.D. 1967. 'Caste in India and the United States', *American Journal of Sociology*, 66(2): pp.102-127.
- Beteille, Andre. 1964. 'The Family and Social Change in India and other South Asian Countries', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16(57), pp.237-244.
- Beteille, Andre, 1965. *Caste, Class and Power*: Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press.

- Beteille, Andre, 1966. *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Pattern of Stratification in Tanjore Village*, Bombay: Oxford University Press.
- Beteille, Andre. 1971. *Harmonic and Disharmonic Social System*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Bhatt, S.C. 1998. *The Encyclopaedic: District Gazetteers of India*, (Central Zone), Vol. 6, New Delhi: Gyan Publication.
- Bhattachary, Rajnit K. 1978. 'The Concept and Ideology of Caste among Muslims of Rural West Bengal', in Ahmad Imtiaz (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.
- Bhatty, Zarina. 1976. 'Status of Muslim Women and Social Change', in B.R. Nanda (ed.). *Indian Women: From Pardah to Modernity*, New Delhi: Vikash Publication House.
- Bhatty, Zarina. 1978. 'Status and Power in a Muslims Dominated Villages of Uttar Pradesh', in Ahmad Imtiaz (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.
- Blunt, E.A.H. 1931. *The Caste System in Northern India*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Butter, Donald, 1839. *Outline of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh*. Calcutta: G.H. Huttman.

- Census of India. 1981. Village and Town Directory of District Bijnor, Part XIV-B.
- Cohn, Bernard S. 1961. *The Development and Impact of British Administration in India*. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Cohn, Bernard S. and Milton Singer. 1968. *Structure and Change in Indian Society*, Chicago: Aldlin Publishing Company.
- Chaudhary, Masudul Aslam. 1980. 'An Occupational Distribution of Muslims in the Employed Labour Force in Canada: Estimates for 1978', *Journal Institute of Muslims Minority Affair*, Vol. 1, No.2, pp. 63-73.
- Crooks, William, C. 1975. *The Tribe and Castes of the North-Western Provinces of India*. New Delhi: Cosma Publications.
- Dawood, N.J. 1970. *The Quran* (Translation) Penguin.
- Dekmejian, Richard Hariar. 1991. 'A Comparative Study of Muslim Minorities: A Preliminary Framework.' *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, No.2, pp.307-316.
- Desai, I.P. 1964. *A Some Aspects of Family in Mahuwa: A Sociological Study of Joint ness in a Small Twon*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- D'souza, Victors, 1978. 'Status Groups among the Moplas on South West Coast of India', In Ahmed Imtiaz (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.

- Dube, Leelawati. 1978. 'Caste Analogue among the Laccadive Muslims', in Ahmad, Imitaz (ed), *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.
- Dube, S.C. 1988. *Modernisation and Development* New Delhi: Vistar Publication.
- Dumont, L. 1957. 'For Sociology of India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, No.1.
- Dumont, L. 1970. *Homo-Hierarchus: The Caste System and its Implications*. London: Paladin Publication.
- Durkhum, Emile 1961. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Collicer Book House.
- Ellickson, Jean. 1976. 'Islamic Institute: Perception and Practice in a Village in Bangladesh', in Madam, T.N. (ed), *Muslim Communities of South Asian, Cultured and Society*, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Engineer, Asgar Ali. 1989. *Muslim Communities of Gujarat: An exploratory Study of Bohras, Khojas and Memons*. Delhi: Ajanta Publications.
- Engineer, A.A. (August, 2002). 'Ethic: A Sociological View of Islam', *Nation and the World*, Vol. II, N. 259, pp. 30-32.
- Fanselow, Frank, S. 1989. 'Muslim Society in Tamil Nadu (India): An Historical perspective', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affair*,

London: Cambridge University Press, Vol. I, 10, No.1, pp. 264-290.

Enthoven, R.E. 1922. *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*. Bombay: Govt Central Press; reprint, 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication Vol. III.

Fallers, Lloyd. 1974. 'Social Stratification and Economic Progress in Africa', in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour, Martin Lipset (ed), *Class Status and Power*, London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd.

Fox, R.G. 1967. 'Family, Caste and Commerce in a North Indian Market, Town', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. XV, No.3.

Ghurye, G.S. 1950. *Caste and Class in India*. Bombay: Popular Prikashan.

Goode, William and Hatt, Paul, K. 1981. *Methods in Social Research*. Singapore: McGraw Hill Book Company.

Gore, M.S. 1968. *Urbanisation and Family Change*. Bombay: Popular Parkashan.

Greetz, Califford. 1965. 'Modernization in a Muslim Society: Indonesian the Sundonesian Case', in R.N. Bellah (ed.). *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia*, New York: The Free press.

Gupta, Raghuraj. 1956. 'Caste Ranking and Inter-caste relations among the Muslims of a village in North Western U.P.'. *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol.10, N.VI, p.30-42.

Habib, Irfan. 1963. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*. Bombay: Asian Publishing House.

- Habib, Irfan. 1982. 'Non-Agricultural Production of Urban Economy', in Japan Ray Choudhary & Habib, T. Chaudhry (ed). *The Cambridge Economic History of India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, Vol. I, pp. 76-92.
- Habibullah, A.B.M. *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*.
- Hale, C.A. 1969. *Changing Status of Women Bombay*. Allied Prakashan.
- Haq, Mushir, U. 1970. *Muslim Politics in Modern India*. Meerut: Meenakshi Parkashan.
- Hasan, Mushirul. *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's "Muslims since Independence*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, Vol. xiii, p.384.
- Hasan, Mushirul. 2000. *Image and Representation: Stories of Muslims live in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hazelrigg, L.E. and Gravier, M.A. 1976. 'Occupational Mobility in Industrialised Societies: A Comparable Analysis of Differential Access to Occupation Rank in Seventeen Centuries": *American Sociological Review*, No.41, pp. 498-511.
- Husain, Iqbal. 1994. *The Ruhela Chieftaincies: The Rise and Fall of Ruhella Power in India in the 18th Century*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, W.W. 1872. *Our Indian Musalamans*. London: Trubner Company.
- Hutton, J.H. 1986. *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins*. Bombay: Oxford University Press.

- Ibbetson, Dr. Denzil Charls. 1916. *Punjab Caste: Races, Caste and Tribes of the People of Punjab*. Lahore: Govt Press, reprint, 1975, Delhi Cosmo Publication.
- Ikram, S.M. 1964. *Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Imam, Zafar. 1975. *Muslims in India*; New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Inkels, Alex, 1969. "A Contemporary on is Everyone Going Modern? P", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.75, pp. 208-225.
- Isidro, Antonia. 1969. 'Education of Muslims', *Solidarity*, Vol.I, IV, No.3, pp.325-353.
- Jain, S.P. 1967. *Social Structure of a Hindu-Muslim Community in Uttar Pradesh*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: Punjab University, Chandigarh.
- Jain, S.P. 1975. *Social Structure of Hindu-Muslim Community*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Jain, S.P. 1978. 'Caste Stratification among Muslims in a Township in Western U.P.' In Imtiaz Ahmad (ed). *Caste and Social Stratification Among Muslims in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Book Science, pp. 225-242.
- Jain, Sushila. 1986. *Muslims and Modernisation: A Study of their Changing Role Structure and Norms in an Urban Setting*. Jaipur: Raw at Publications.

- Jayaram, N. 1990. 'Ethnicity and Education: A Socio-Historical Perspective on the Educational Backwardness of Indian Muslims', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 39, (1 and 2) pp.115-129.
- Kahl, J.A. 1968. *The Measurement of Modernism: A study of values in Brazil and Mexico*. Austin: University Press of Texas.
- Kapadia, K.M. 1958. *Marriage and Family in India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Karim, S.M. Nazmul. 1959. *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*. Decca: Oxford University Press.
- Khalidi, Omar. 1995. *Indian Muslims Since Independence*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Khan, G.G. Hussain, 2003. "Muslim Kinship in Dravidian Milieu", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46, pp. 4902-4904.
- Khan, Syed Ahmad. 1964. 'Sirkashi-e-zila Bijnor' in Sharafat Hussain Mirza (ed.) *Nadwatul Masanefun* (Urdu).
- Kluckhohn, F. 1940. 'The Participant Observer Technique in Small Communities', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46.
- Kumar, Nita, 1988. *The Artisans of Benaras: Popular Culture and Identity 1880-1986*. Princeton University Press.
- Kuppaswamy, B. 1964. *Socio-Economic Status Scale (Urban)*. Delhi: Manasayan.
- Leach, Edmond, R. 1971, *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

- Levlyeld, Davis. 1978. *Aligarhis First Generation: Muslims Solidarity in British India*. Princeton University Press.
- Lerner, Daniel. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society*. Glancoe Free Press.
- Levy, Marison J. 1966. *Modernisation and Structure of Societies*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Levy, Reuben. 1962. *The Social Structure of Islam*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, B. and Menage, V.L. 1979 (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. London: Luzac and Company, Vol. II.
- Lipset, S.M. and R. Bendix. 1959. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Madan, T.N. 1965. *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Madan, T.N. 1976. *Muslim Communities of South Asia: Culture and Society*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Madan, T.N. 1981. 'Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir' in Ahmad. Imtiaz (ed.) *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.
- Madan, T.N. 1983. *Culture and Development*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Mahroof, Mohammad. 1976. 'Aspects of Religion, Economy and Society among the Muslims of Ceydon', in Madan, T.N. (ed.). *Muslim*

Communities of South Asia: Culture and Society, New Delhi:
Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D. (ed.) *The History and Culture of the India People*, Vol. II, (The Age of Imperial Unity).

Malik, Iftikahr H. 1995. 'Identity Formation and Muslims Party Politics in the Punjab, 1897-1936: A Retrospective Analysis', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 29, Part 2, pp. 293-323.

Mann, E.A. 1992. *Boundaries and Identities: Muslims: work and Status in Aligarh*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Marriot, MacKim. 1960. *Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan*, Deccan college Monograph.
Poona: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute,
Series No. 23.

Mayor, Adrian G. 1956. 'Some Hierarchical Aspects of Caste', *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 2, No.12, pp. 3-17.

Mayor, Adrian G. 1960. *Caste and Kinship in Central India*: London,
Cambridge University Press.

Menon, M. Indu, 1981. *Status of Muslim Women in India: A Case Study of Kerala*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Meons, S.M. 1872. *Settlement Report of District Bijnor*. Allahabad; Govt Press.

Merton, Robert K. 1950. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New Delhi:
Amerind Publishing.

- Metcalf, Barbara. 1989. *Day of Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900*. University Press of California.
- Mines, Mattison, 1978. 'Social Stratification among Muslim Tamils in Tamil Nadu South India', in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.). *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*. Delhi: Manohar Publishing House.
- Mishra, B.B. 1960. *Indian Middle Class*. Bombay: Oxford University Press.
- Mishra, S.C. 1963. *The Rise of Muslims Power in Gujrat*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Mishra, S.C. 1964. *Muslim Communities in Gujrat*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Misra, S.C. 1974. 'Indigenization and Islamization in India History', *Secular Democracy*, pp.59-65.
- Moinuddin, S.A.H. 2003. 'Problems of Identification of Muslims OBCs in West Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 46, pp. 4905-07.
- Mondal, Shaik Rahim. 1992. 'Towards Understanding Islamic and Muslims Society in India: Some Methodological Issue', *Journal of Objective Studies*, Vol. 4, No.1, pp.52-65.
- Mondal, Sheik Rahim. 2003. 'Social Structure, OBCs and Muslims', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46, pp. 4892-97.
- Mujeeb, M. 1978. *The Indian Muslims*, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Mujeeb, M. 1985. *Indian Muslims* New Delhi: Munshisan Manohar Publishers.

- Nesfield, J.C. 1885. *Brief View of Caste System of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*. Allahabad: Government Press.
- Nevill, H.R. 1908. *District Gazetteer of Bijnor*. Allahabad: Government of Uttar Pradesh, Vol. XIV.
- O'Malley, L.S.S. 1941. (ed.) *Modern India and the West*.
- Panikar, K.M. 1961. *Hindu Society at Cross Roads*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Parkin, Frank, 1972. *Class, Inequality and Political Order*. London: Paladin Publication.
- Parsons, T. and Neil J. Smelser, 1965. *Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory*. New York: Free Press of University.
- Patai, H. 1967. *Women in the Modern World*. New York: Free Press.
- Rahim, A.M. *Nagapatinam and its Surrounding from 16th Century*. Unpublished, M. Phil. Dissertation. Madras University.
- Rao, M.S.A. 1968. 'Occupational Diversification and Joint family Household,' *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 11, No. IV, pp. 282-287.
- Rac, M.S.A. 1970. *Urbanisation and Social Change*. New Delhi: Orient 2 Longnum.
- Riseley, Sir Hebert H. 1891. *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. Calcutta: Govt Press of Bengal.

- Rizvi, Akram, S.M. 1976. 'Kinship and Industry among the Muslim Kashkhanedars in Delhi', in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed). *Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India*. Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Rizvi, S.A.A. 1970. 'The Breakdown of Traditional Society', in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 2, pp. 67-77.
- Robertson, B.B. 1891. *Census of India: Imperial Tables and Supplementary Return*.
- Roy, Shibani, 1979. *Status of Muslim Women in North India*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Roy, Shibani. 2003. 'Hindi Musalman Vangujjar Transhumance in Uttaranchal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46, pp. 4913-15.
- Russel, R.V. and Hiralal. 1916. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. London: MacMillan and Company; reprint 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication Vol. III.
- Sadiq, Naqvi. 1973. *Muslim Religious Institutions and their Role under the Qutub Shah*. Hyderabad: Bab-ul-Islam Society.
- Saheb, S.A.A. 2003. 'Dudekula Muslims of Andhra Pradesh: An Ethnographic profile', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 46, pp. 4908-4912.

- Sataya Prakash. 1985. *Muslims in India: A Bibliography of their Religions, Socio-Economic and Political Literature*. Gurgaon: Indian Documentation Service.
- Saxena, N.C. 1989. 'Public Employment and Educational Backwardness among the Muslims in India', in Moin Shakir (ed.). *Religion State, and Political in India*, New Delhi: Ajanta Publication.
- Shafaqat, C.M. 1955. *The Muslim Power and Divorce*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture.
- Shah, A.M. 1972. *The Household Dimensions of the Family in India*. Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Shakir, M. 1989. *Religion, State and Politics in India*. New Delhi: Ajanta Publication.
- Sharma, Kamlesh. 1985. *Role of Muslims in Indian Politics (1857-1947)*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Sherring, M.A. 1975. *Tribes and Castes of Rajasthan (1881)*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- Sherwani, Nusrat and Ahmad Rasheed Sherwani. 1978. 'Education of Muslim Girls of Uttar Pradesh', *Main stream*, Vol. XVII, No.12, p. 341-345.
- Sherwani, Ahmad Rasheed. 1980. 'Muslim's Educational Backwardness', *Views Weekly*, Vol. XII, No.15, pp. 234-247.
- Siddiqui, M.K.A. 1974. *Muslims of Calcutta: A Study in Aspects of their Social Organisation*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.

- Siddiqui, M.K.A. 1978. 'Caste among the Muslims of Calcutta', in Ahmad Intiaz (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication House.
- Singh, Harjinder 1977. *Caste Among Non-Hindus in India*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Singh, K.S. 1992. *People of India: An Introduction*. Calcutta: An Anthropological Survey of India.
- Singh, N.K. and Khan A.M. 2001. *Encyclopedia of the World Muslims, Tribes, Castes and Communities*. Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House; reprint 2002, Vol. II.
- Singh, Narendra K. 1979. *Education and Social Change*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Singh, Sheobahal. 1980. *Entrepreneurship and Social Change*. Jaipur: Rawat Publication.
- Singh, Yogendra. 1983. *Moderisation of Indian Tradition*. Jaipur: Rawat Publication.
- Singh, Yogendra. 1986. *Indian Sociology: Social Conditioning and Emerging Concerns*. New Delhi: Vistar Publications.
- Singh, Yogendra. 1993. *Social Change: Crisis and Resilience*. New Delhi: HAR-Anand Publications.
- Singer, Milton. 1973. *Entrepreneurship and Modernisation of Occupational Cultures in South Asia*. Duke: University Press.

- Sinha, Surjeet. 1967. *Caste in India: Its Essential Pattern of Socio-Cultural Integration*. London: Ciba Foundation Symposium on caste and Race.
- Sorokin, Pitirim. 1927. *Social Mobility*. New York: Harper and Row Publications.
- Srinivas, M. N., D.G. Karve and Milton Singer. 1958. 'Cultural Values and Economic Development: A Discussion', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. (October), pp. 1-12.
- Srinivas, M. N. 1952. *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*. Los Angel: Clasendon Press.
- Srinivas, M.N. 1962. *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Srinivas, M.N. 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Bombay: Allied Publishers.
- Srinivas, M.N. 1968. 'Mobility in the Caste System', in Singer, Milton and Cohn, B.S. (ed). *Structure and Change in India Society*, New York: Wenner Gen Foundation.
- Taenber, I. 1951. 'Family, Migration and Industrialization in Japan', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, pp. 149-157.
- Taya, Zinkin. 1963. *Caste Today*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Therbon, G. 1978. *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules*. London: New Left Brooks.

- Thurston, Edward. 1909. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Madras: Govt Printing Press; reprint 1975, Delhi: Cosmo Publication, Vol. III.
- Tyree, Andrea. 1976. 'Inequality, Economic Development and Social Mobility in 24 Countries,' *American Sociological Review*, Vol.44, N. XVI, pp. 231-236.
- Umar, Mohammad. 1998. *Muslim Society in Northern India during the 18th Century*. Delhi: Famous Offset Press, p.695.
- Varun, D.P. 1981. *Bijnor: District Gazetter*. Lucknow: Government Press of Uttar Pradesh.
- Weber, Max. 1958. *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Budhism*. Glencol: The Free Press.
- Weber, Max. 1963. *The Sociology of Religions* Boston: Beacon Press.
- Weber, Max. 1967. 'Essays in Sociology', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Milis (edt). *From Max Weber*, Routledge and Kegan Ltd.
- Weber, Max. 1968. *Economy and Society*. New York: Bedminister Press.
- Wilkinson, T.S. and Bhandarkar, P.L. 1988. *Methodology and Techniques of Social Research*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publication House.
- Yasin, M. 1958. *A Social History of Islamic India*. Lucknow: Upper India Publishing House.
- Zainuddin, Syed. 2003. 'Islam, Social Stratification and Empowerment of Muslim Other Backward Castes', *Economic and Political Weekly*; Vol. XXXVIII; No. 46; pp. 4898-4901.

Zaki, Mohammad. 1996. *Muslim Society in Northern India, during the 15th and First Half of 16th Century*. Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co., Vol. XII, p. 186.

Zeitlin, Irving M. 1987. *Rethinking Sociology: A Critique of Contemporary Theory*. Jaipur: Rawat Publication.

Veblen Thorstein – *The Theory of Leisure class. An Economic study of Institution*, New York: Modern Library.

APPENDIX

Part A. General Information

1. Name of Respondent :
2. Age :
3. Occupation :
4. Income (Monthly) :
5. Education :
6. Martial Status : Married/Unmarried/Widower
7. No. of Children : Total _____ Male _____ Female _____
8. Respondent's Father's Name :
 - (i) Occupation :
 - (ii) Income (Monthly) :
 - (iii) Education : Literate/Illiterate
 - (iv) No. of Children : Total _____ Male _____ Female _____

Part B. Social Background

1. Type of family you live in (I) Joint/Extended (II) Nuclear (III) Single
2. How many members are there in your family?
Total..... Male..... Female.....
3. What is your total monthly family income?
(i) Rs.2000-3000 (ii) Rs.3000-4000 (iii) Rs. 4000-6000 (iv) Rs.6000-10,000
4. Do you have any source of income other than your main occupation? Yes/No
If yes, specify the source
5. How many earning members are there in your family?
6. What type of marriage do you prefer? (i) Monogamy (ii) Polygamy
7. Where will you prefer to marry children in your family? Write in order preference.
 - a. Marriage alliance within Khandan.
 - b. Marriage alliance within the kinship group.
 - c. Marriage alliance within the town but in biradari
 - d. Marriage alliance within the biradari
 - e. Marriage alliance outside the biradari.
8. Is marriage outside of biradari acceptable to you? Yes/No
9. Are you married to a woman of your own biradari? Yes/No
If yes, specify relationship
10. Will you allow your children marry outside the biradari? Yes/No
11. Do you think that inter-biradari marriages should be encouraged? Yes/No
12. Will you give any kind of freedom to your children to choose their partner independently.
(i) Sons Yes/No (ii) Daughter Yes/No
13. Is the practice of cross/parallel cousin marriage prevalent in your biradari? Yes/No.
14. Do you think that the marriage of your daughter is financially burden? Yes/No.
15. How much money is generally spent on the marriage of children in your community?

- I. Son (i) 1,00000-2,00000 (ii) 2,00000-3,00000 (iii) 3,00000-4,00000
 II. Daughter (i) 1,00000-2, 00000 (ii) 2,00000-3,00000 (iii) 3,00000-4,00000
16. Are there some instances of divorce in your family? Yes/No
 If yes, what may be the reason
 (i) Marriage outside the biradari (ii) Civil Marriage
 (iii) Economic problems (iv) Any others
17. Is there any case of remarriage in your family? Yes/No
 If yes, with who marriage is rearranged
 If No, why remarriage could not be arranged?
18. What is the usual amount of "Maher" fixed in your family?
 (i) Maher-e-Fatmi (ii) 15,000-20,000 (iii) 20,000-50,000 (iv) Above more
19. Is the "Maher" paid at the time of marriage? Yes/No
20. Is dowry given as a regular practice in your biradari? Yes/No
 If yes, how much dowry is desirable. Rs.....
21. Why is dowry necessary?
 (i) For family prestige (ii) Due to demand of other side
 (iii) For the sake of good life of daughter (iv) Any other
22. By what names your biradari is known in the area?
23. What are other biradaris in your area with whom you have close in socio-economic relationship?
 (a) Muslims biradaris (b) Non-Muslim biradaris
24. Is there any kind of sub-division or hierarchy in your biradari? Yes/No
25. From which internal divisions of the biradari you belong to?
 (i) Pachade (ii) Deshwale (iii) Telia (iv) Multani
26. How do you trace the origin as a biradari?
27. What is the position of your biradari in terms of social hierarchy?
 (i) Below Sayyed, Sheikh but above Khan
 (ii) Below Sayyed, Sheikh, Khan but above Qureshi & Ansari
 (iii) Below Sayyed, Sheikh, Khan, Qureshi & Ansari
 (iv) Above all
28. What is the rank of your biradari in terms of economic hierarchy?
 (i) Upper socio- economic class (ii) Middle socio- economic class
 (iii) Lower socio- economic class (iv) Any other class specify
29. Is everybody in the biradari treated equal? Yes/No

Part C. Occupational/Economic Organization

30. What is your main occupation? (i)..... (ii)
31. What is the specific occupation of other members of your family?
32. Do you have any independent occupation? Yes/No
 If yes what?
33. Do you have any biradari organization? Yes/No
 If Yes, what is the name of it?

34. Do you think the biradari organization is necessary? Yes/No
35. Is your biradari organization play any role for the welfare and development of its members?
Yes/No
If yes, specify.....
If no, why specify reason?
36. Where is your community dispute settled?
(i) In your biradari panchayat (ii) In Judicial Courts (iii) Any other
37. Do you need any Govt. programmes for the welfare of your biradari? Yes/No
38. Does the Government providing you any kind of economic assistance for the development of your biradari? Yes/No
39. The Govt. programmes/Schemes are running for the upliftment of poor section of the society. Do you think that these programmes are also providing any kind of socio-economic development for your community? Yes/No
40. Have you ever borrowed money from any persons on interest? Yes/No
41. Have you ever-borrowed money from banks or any financial institution? Yes/No

Part D Educational and Religious background

42. How many of your children are studying at different level?
(i) Madarsa Level...
(ii) School/College/University Level...
(iii) Technical Institutions...
(iv) No Education...
43. How much education will you give to your daughters?
(i) Up to 8th Class (ii) 10th (iii) 12th (iv) Graduation
(v) Professional (vi) Any other
44. How much education will you give to your sons?
(i) Up to 8th Class (ii) 10th (iii) 12th (iv) Graduation
(v) Professional (vi) Any other
45. Will you allow the girls to get the modern education? Yes/No
46. Do you think that the investment in modern higher education of the boys is desirable? Yes/No
47. Which type of economic career would you like most for your sons?
I. Traditional occupation II. Other occupations III. Agriculture
IV. Government Jobs V. Foreign Jobs V. Any other
48. To which Muslim school of jurisprudence do you follow?
I. Hanfi II. Malki III. Shafai IV. Hambli
49. Are you followers of other than Sunni Hanfi Muslims? Yes/No
If Yes, I. Bralvi II. Deobandi III. Any other
50. Why do these divisions exist among the Muslims Society? Write in order of Preference.
I. Due to Social Compulsions II. Political Interest
III. Interest of Ullemas or religious Fundamentalists
51. Have you performed Haj? Yes/No

52. Do you think that it is necessary to pay zakat annually? Yes/No
53. How much zakat do you pay annually?
54. Are you favoring any kind of changes in Muslim Personal Law? Yes/No
If yes, in what way?
55. Have the status of women in your biradari improved? Yes/No
56. Do you know that Islam give share to daughter in parental property? Yes/No
57. Do you give the share of daughters in your property? Yes/No
If yes, how much.....If No, why.....
58. Do you think that socio-economic and educational status of your family increased in comparison to that of your father's family?
I. Has Improved II. Has declined III. remain same IV. Indifferent
59. Have your socio-economic and educational standard improved since you entered into practical life? Yes/No
60. Has the condition of your biradari improved after independence? Yes/No
61. What are the major problems in the development of your biradari? Write in order of preference.
I. Discrimination or ignorance by the Government
II. Discrimination by other Muslims biradaris.
III. Lack of education in Biradari.
IV. Poverty and unemployment.
V. Lack of leadership and political appraisal of biradari.
VI. Any other.
62. Do the people of your biradari actively participate in the political affairs? Yes/No
If Yes, I. By Becoming the members of the party.
II. By taking part in canvassing.
III. By voting only.
63. Do you know anyone from your biradari who is (a) In government?
Yes/No (b) In administration Yes/No
64. Do you have any relative in politics? Yes/No
65. Do you think that Muslims should try to merge with main stream society? Yes/No